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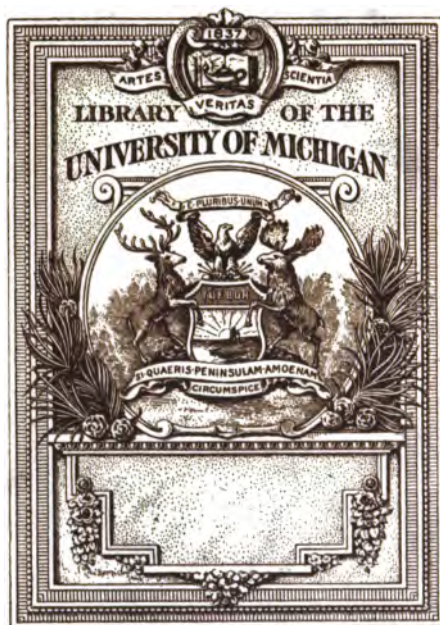
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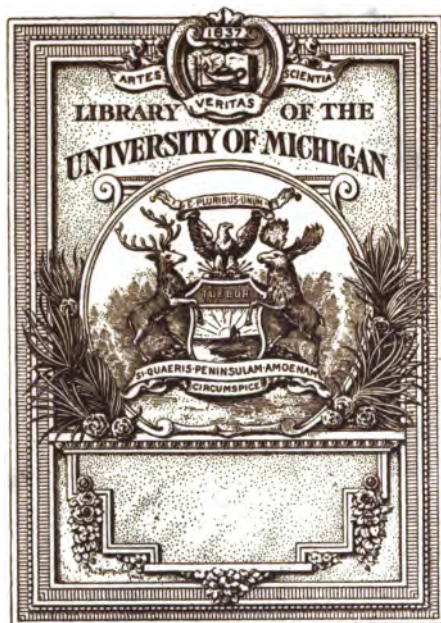


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ON

PROHIBITION OF THE
LIQUOR TRAFFIC

COMPILED BY

LAMAR T. BEMAN, A. M., LL.D.

Instructor in the East High School
Cleveland, Ohio

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
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EXPLANATORY NOTE

"There are few social questions," says the report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, "which have been more anxiously considered than that of Prohibition, and so great and important is the question involved, that almost every civilized nation has given considerable attention to it." While the Civil War in this country diverted attention from Prohibition to other public questions, the present war in Europe has had exactly the opposite effect. "If drunkenness is dangerous in time of peace," says Guglielmo Ferrero, the eminent Italian scholar, in his article in the Pittsburgh Post of May 25, 1915, "it is much more so in time of war, when those who go to fight as well as those who remain at home have need of all their judgment and reflection for the common safety." The knowledge of this fact explains why the war in Europe directed attention to Prohibition. The day after war was declared the sale of absinthe was prohibited in all France by military decree, and this action was later ratified and made perpetual by act of the French Parliament. Russia prohibited the sale of vodka a few weeks after the beginning of the war. Somewhat less extreme measures have been taken by several others of the belligerent countries.

In the United States within the same period of time the question has received more public attention than ever before. Since the beginning of the war ten states have adopted Prohibition as a state-wide measure while a number of others have considered and rejected it. It is now certain that Prohibition will come before the voters in several more states within the next year or two. Public attention has been directed to the question in other ways than by the act of a legislature or the popular vote on state-wide Prohibition. National Prohibition by amendment to the federal constitution has been debated and voted upon in the House of Representatives, and while defeated, yet it received a majority of the votes cast in that body. The National Anti-Saloon League has asked for \$2,000,000 a year to carry on the contest, and has declared that it confidently

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expects to make the whole United States Prohibition territory by 1920. Whisky and brandy have been dropped from the official list of drugs given in the United States Pharmacopœia. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in their triennial national convention, voted uanimously to endorse national and state-wide Prohibition.

Since Prohibition has received so much attention in this country, and is certain to receive so much more in the near future, there is some reason for adding to the enormous volume of literature already in existence. In the Debaters' Handbook Series an effort is made to present fully and fairly both sides of public questions, to select the best of what has been written and to reproduce nothing that is bitter or passionate. Each Debaters' Handbook is in the nature of a great debate, in which there are many speakers on each side. The readers are the judges in this debate, and to these judges the question is now submitted.

L. T. B.

September 20, 1915.

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BRIEF

Resolved, That Prohibition of the liquor traffic should be adopted as a state-wide (or national) measure.

AFFIRMATIVE

INTRODUCTION

- I. The liquor problem has baffled all attempts at solution since the beginning of civilization.
- II. Recent events have brought Prohibition forward as the one possible solution.
 - A. Scientific research has shown the true nature of alcohol.
 - B. The European war has made enforced Temperance necessary in several countries.
 - C. Eighteen of our states have already adopted Prohibition, and others will soon vote on it.
 - D. David Lloyd George has declared that only "root and branch" methods will avail anything in dealing with the liquor traffic.
- III. All other remedies have failed.
 - A. They have failed to reduce the consumption of alcohol, or in other words, to accomplish anything.

PROOF

- I. The liquor traffic is an intolerable burden.
 - A. Scientific research shows that alcohol is a narcotic habit-forming poison.
 1. Its use causes many thousand deaths a year.
- [See Report of the Medico-Actuarial Mortality Investigation]
- a. Excessive use soon results in death.
 - b. Moderate use shortens life materially.
 - c. Much of the fatal heart and liver trouble is caused by the moderate use of alcohol.
 2. Its use makes a person more susceptible to disease and less able to resist it.

3. At least 25 per cent of the insanity is due to alcohol.
 4. It makes many degenerates among the descendants of users.
 - B. Alcohol lowers the standard of character and public morals.
 1. It causes a large part of all the crime.
 2. It creates a considerable part of the pauperism
 3. It is one of the leading causes of commercialized vice.
 4. It is responsible for a large part of the divorces and desertions.
 5. It causes most of the child misery.
 6. It corrupts the government and makes cowards of men in public life.
 - C. It is a staggering economic burden.
 1. About two billion dollars a year are spent for alcoholic liquors in the United States.
 - a. This is about twice the national debt.
 - b. It means that the average family pays \$100 a year for alcoholic liquor.
 2. The indirect cost is much greater than this.
 - a. Alcohol makes labor inefficient.
 - b. It causes many industrial accidents.
 - c. The cost to the community through public care and attention to crime, poverty, insanity, vice, degeneracy, desertion, and premature death is incalculable.
- II. Prohibition is the logical and effective remedy.
- A. It has been remarkably successful wherever given a fair trial.
 1. It has decreased the consumption of alcohol and therefore lessened its evils.
 - a. The per capita consumption in the whole United States is 22.5 gallons, in Kansas less than 4 gallons and this mostly consumed near the border.
 2. It has reduced insanity.
 - a. Maine has a smaller percentage of insanity than New England.
 - b. Kansas and North Dakota each have a smaller

percentage of insanity than the west north central states.

3. It has reduced poverty.
 - a. Maine has fewer paupers in almshouses in proportion to its population than New England and almost twice as great a percentage of its people own their own homes.
 - b. North Dakota and Kansas have a lower percentage of paupers in almshouses than the west north central states as a whole, and more of their people own their own homes.
 4. It has decreased degeneracy.
 - a. Maine has a smaller percentage of degeneracy than New England.
 - b. Both Kansas and North Dakota have a smaller percentage than the west north central division.
 5. It has reduced crime.
 - a. Maine has fewer sentenced prisoners than New England per population.
 - b. North Dakota has a lower percentage than the west north Central states.
 - c. Kansas has a higher ratio because its laws are more strictly enforced.
 - d. Arrests decreased 33 per cent in Georgia after state-wide Prohibition was adopted.
 6. It has helped education.
 - a. Maine has a larger percentage of children of school age enrolled in school than New England.
 - b. Kansas and North Dakota have a smaller percentage of illiteracy than the west north central division and Kansas has a larger percentage of its children in school.
 7. The death and divorce statistics of the United States are in such a condition that any fair comparison of them is impossible. The same is true as regards statistics of money in savings banks.
- B. It is no argument against Prohibition that it has not prevented all drinking.

BRIEF

1. It is as well enforced as the average law.
2. Laws against murder and burglary don't absolutely prevent these crimes.
 - a. In July, 1912, there was an average of one murder a day in New York City. Does that prove that the law against murder in the metropolis should be repealed?
- C. A prohibitive law will work better in the second generation.
 1. The children born in a Prohibition state will see so little of liquor selling and intoxication that fewer of them will have a temptation to violate the law.
- D. It is no argument against Prohibition to say it is confiscation.
 1. Under the police power the state governments have always had the right to pass any law for the health, safety, or good morals of the people.
 2. Other laws accomplish the same results.
 - a. Confiscation of impure food.
 - b. Confiscation of false weights and measures.
 - c. The freeing of the slaves confiscated many times as much property as is now invested in the liquor business.
 - d. Killing of diseased cattle.
 3. Liquor stands on the same plane as opium, cocaine, and other poisonous drugs.
- E. Prohibition has not injured business.
 1. The governors of Kansas, one after another, have testified to this fact.
 2. Commissioner Blue in West Virginia says the same of his state.
- III. All other remedies have failed.
 - A. Local option has failed.
 1. It has not decreased the consumption of liquor.
 2. It is easily evaded because districts are so small liquor can easily be obtained outside the district, smuggled into it, or bought by the mail order system, thus taking drinking more into the home.
 3. It corrupts local government.

- B. High license or so-called "model license" has failed.
 - 1. It was never intended to do any real good, but serves a sham substitute for Prohibition.
 - 2. It has not decreased the consumption of alcohol.
- C. The dispensary system has failed.
 - 1. It has not greatly decreased the consumption of alcohol.
 - 2. It has taken drinking more into the home.
- D. The liquor traffic refuses to obey the law—no matter what it is. It won't be regulated and therefore must be abolished.
 - 1. On December 18, 1911, the Baptist Brotherhood reported that they had investigated 1,630 saloons in Cleveland and found 1,534 open and doing business in direct violation of the law of Ohio.
 - 2. Selling liquor to minors is a common practice, though unlawful.
 - 3. Laws to prevent selling liquor to drunken persons are almost universally violated.

NEGATIVE

INTRODUCTION

- I. Prohibition means the prevention by law of the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors.
- II. It is not sufficient for the Affirmative to prove evils that are due to the use of alcoholic liquors, but they must also justify the remedy they advocate.
 - A. They must show that Prohibition will remedy the evils of intemperance.
 - B. They must prove that it will not produce new evils.
 - C. They must show that it is practicable.

PROOF

- I. Prohibition is wrong in principle.
 - A. It violates private personal rights.
 - 1. What a man may eat or drink is not properly a matter of legislation.
 - 2. Many of our best people are accustomed to a moderate use of alcoholic liquors, and to them Prohibition would be an unreasonable hardship.
 - 3. There are in the United States many people of

foreign birth who have always been accustomed to use liquors, to whom Prohibition would be an especial hardship.

4. "Better free than sober," is the opinion of many of our ablest men, such as Prof. Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard.
- B. It violates sacred property rights.
 1. Practically all Prohibitionists ridicule the idea of compensating people now in the liquor business.
 2. Almost \$800,000,000 is now invested in the manufacture of liquor, and much more in its sale and in allied industries.
 3. The federal and state governments, by licensing and imposing special taxes, have recognized the manufacture and sale of liquor as a legitimate business.
 4. To prohibit the further manufacture and sale of liquor would be confiscation pure and simple.
 5. The state and federal governments, because of the dignity of their relation to their citizens and to private property, ought not to be guilty of such an act.
 6. Confiscation, once accomplished on so enormous a scale, would be an unwholesome precedent apt to be followed on other occasions.
 7. There are many men in the business who are now past middle life and know no other business. Their means of livelihood would be swept away by Prohibition, but might be preserved under some law by which reform is made gradual.
- C. State-wide Prohibition creates disrespect for law.
 1. In most of the cities in Prohibition states the law is not enforced.
 2. Non-enforcement and the resulting violation with impunity of one law leads to disrespect for all law.
- D. All good reforms are gradual. Radical reforms are seldom good. "Hurricane reform" is never good in its ultimate results.
- II. Prohibition is unwise as a policy.
 - A. It would mean an enormous loss in taxes, a complete reorganization of our tax systems.

1. In 1914 the federal government received \$245,385,000, or one-third of its income, from liquor taxes.
 2. State and local governments also receive large amounts.
 3. This additional tax put on other industry would be a heavy burden and would be apt to produce industrial disorder for some years to come.
- B. The men and capital made idle would create an industrial depression.
1. Eighty thousand men would be thrown out of work, and in trying to get work in other industries, would over-supply the labor market and reduce wages.
 2. Eight hundred million dollars of capital idle, much of it in bankruptcy proceedings, would make worse the depression that must follow Prohibition generally adopted.
 3. Perhaps as many more men and as much more capital in allied industries would be involved.
 - a. Thousands of farmers who sell grain to breweries and distilleries or grapes to wine makers, would find no market for their produce.
 - b. Railroads and express companies that have shipped liquor would find their business curtailed and profits reduced. Many workmen would be laid off as a result.
 - c. Thousands of salesmen, jobbers, bartenders, waiters, teamsters would be added to the army of unemployed.
 4. "This is not a theory but a condition," one that certainly will develop, and what are the Prohibitionists going to do about it?
 5. It did not occur when a sparsely settled agricultural western or southern state adopted Prohibition, but it will happen when the first large and populous industrial state does it.
- C. The foreigners who have been coming to this country a million or more a year, in time of peace, will settle elsewhere and build up rival powers in Canada and South America.

1. There are more people today in New York City and Chicago than there are in Canada or the Argentine Republic, and more than one-third of them are foreign born and as many more are of foreign parentage.
- III. Prohibition, as a national or state-wide measure, is impracticable.
- A. It has failed where tried.
 1. It is unenforceable.
 - a. Large amounts of liquor are sold and consumed in all Prohibition states.
 - b. In all the larger cities of the Prohibition states the law is openly violated.
 2. It has always been clear that it is impossible to legislate men good.
 3. The law can't regulate and change the appetites and habits of men.
 4. Prohibition as a state-wide measure is usually soon repealed.
 - a. Of the eighteen that have now adopted Prohibition, only three have had it for ten years.
 - b. Thirty states have adopted Prohibition at one time or another, and fifteen have repealed, some of them two or three times.
 - c. Rhode Island has adopted it three times and each time has soon repealed it.
 - B. With all this amount of Prohibition, the actual consumption of liquor has steadily increased, which shows the scheme is an absolute failure.
 - C. Prohibition leads to worse evils than drinking. Men unable to obtain liquor will take to excesses in some other direction.
 1. The drug evil, the use of morphine, cocaine, etc., is found to be increasing much faster in Prohibition states than in the other states.
 2. Liquors with a high percentage of alcohol and small bulk take the place of beer and are sold in "blind tigers" and "speak-easies" by the lowest class of people.
 3. Patent medicines with a large percent of alcohol are openly sold in every Prohibition state.

4. Most of the liquor unlawfully sold in Prohibition states is adulterated and poisonous, and the harm done by its use is much greater.
- D. The liquor traffic continues in Prohibition states, but it is entirely unregulated and uncontrolled.
 1. It is outside of the protection of the law and is carried on secretly.
- E. Public sentiment will not enforce a state-wide Prohibition law.
 1. No law will be obeyed unless it has back of it the force of public opinion.
 2. Few of our states are so homogeneous in population that all parts of the state will favor Prohibition.
 - a. City ideals and rural ideals differ as regards drinking.
 - b. Towns with a large percentage of foreigners and others mostly native will have different ideals.
 3. Therefore local option is preferable to state-wide Prohibition.
- IV. There are better methods of dealing with the liquor problem.
 - A. Local option.
 1. This has public opinion back of it.
 - B. The model license.
 1. This secures wholesome regulation of the traffic.
 - C. Gradual repression.
 1. Gradual reduction of the percentage of alcohol in liquor will slowly remove what cannot be annihilated at one stroke.
 2. Business, capital, and labor can adjust themselves to gradual changes.
 - D. Education.
 1. Teach only the truth about alcohol to children.
 2. Teach the results of alcohol to adults also.
 3. Teach Temperance and self-restraint. There will always be temptations and people should be taught to meet them.

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An asterisk (*) preceding a reference indicates that the entire article or a part of it has been reprinted in this volume. A dagger (†) is used to mark a few of the best of the other references. Many of the magazine articles and pamphlets listed here, as well as similar material that may be published after this volume is issued, may be secured at reasonable rates from the Wilson Package Library operated by H. W. Wilson Company.

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Resolved, that local option is preferable to state-wide Prohibition as a means of dealing with intemperance.

SPECIAL MATERIAL

Many pamphlets and leaflets, and some books, not listed in this Bibliography, are printed by the different organizations and agencies that are endeavoring to mold public sentiment on the liquor question. This material may be obtained, much of it free, by writing the following addresses:

For Affirmative Material

Anti-Saloon League of America, Westerville, O.

There are branch offices of the league in each state and in many cities.
Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington, D. C.

National Temperance Society and Publication House, 373 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

- National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
 Prohibition National Committee, 106 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
 Scientific Temperance Federation, 23 Trull Street, Boston, Mass.

For Negative Material

- Iconoclast Publishing Co., 1169 Transportation Building, Chicago, Ill.
 Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association of America, 36 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.
 Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association of New Jersey, 776 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.
 National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of America, 301 United Bank Building, Cincinnati, O.
 Ohio Home Rule Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O.
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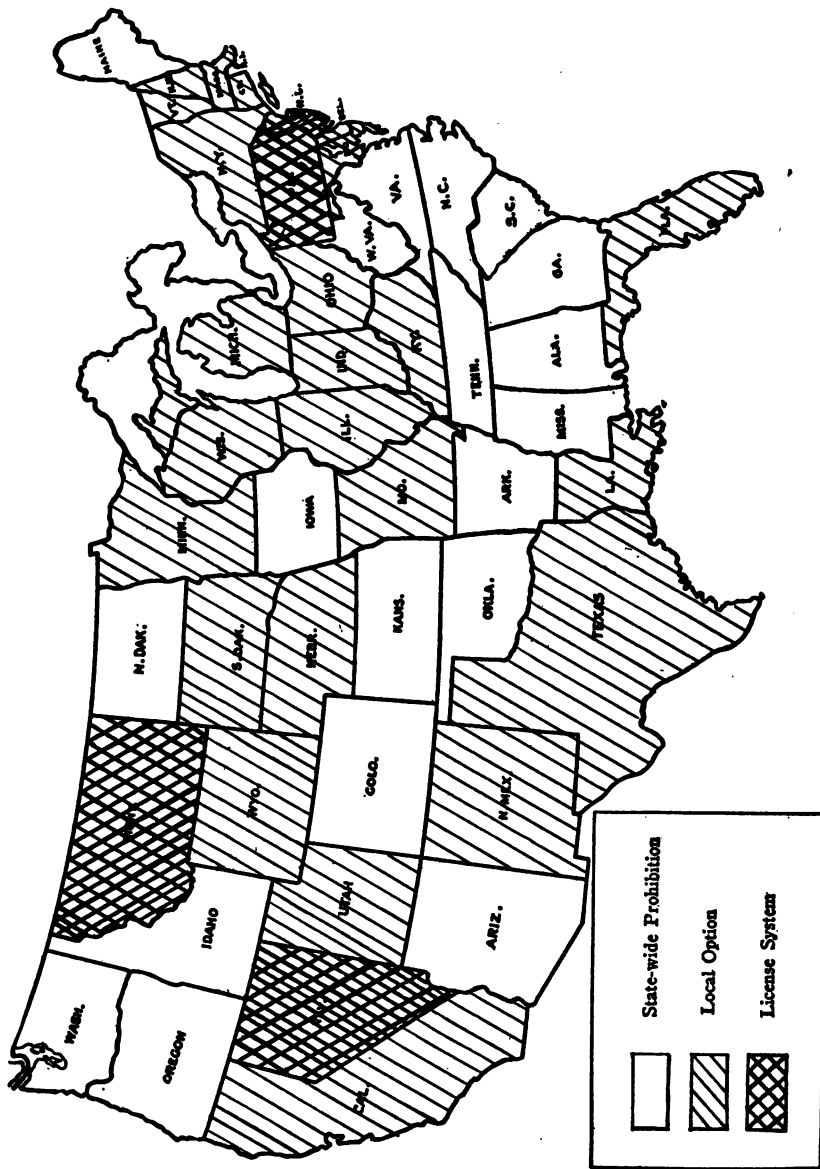
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SELECTED ARTICLES ON PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

INTRODUCTION

"The conflict between man and alcohol is as old as civilization," wrote Senator Henry W. Blair in his book, "The Temperance Movement," published in 1888. He also tells us that the manufacture and drinking of alcohol was forbidden more than 4,000 years ago by the Emperor of China, and that since that time on many different occasions and in many different lands laws have been passed to restrict or to prohibit the use of intoxicants. The struggle to keep Bacchus out expresses in the beautiful figurative way of the ancient Greeks the idea that at that time Prohibition was agitating the minds of men. So it is clear that there is nothing new about the struggle that is now being waged against the use of alcoholic liquors for beverages in so many different countries.

Nor is there anything new about Prohibition as a state-wide measure. In the United States there have been two great Prohibition movements that have spread over the country and commanded a large measure of public attention, and in saying this we must not lose sight of the fact there has also been a small group of very earnest enemies of the liquor traffic who have waged incessant warfare against it for more than a century. The first of these two movements was about the middle of the nineteenth century and might be said to have begun with the passage of a state-wide Prohibition law in Maine in 1846. In most of the northern and northeastern states there was an effort made to adopt a similar law, and it was successful in thirteen of them. In all but a few cases the action was soon rescinded and public attention was diverted from the question by the Civil War.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON

TABLE I

STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION

No.	State	Statutory or constitutional	Adopted	Repealed
1	Maine	Statutory	1846	1856
2	Illinois	Statutory	1851	1853
3	Massachusetts	Statutory	1852	1868
4	Rhode Island	Statutory	1852	1863
5	Vermont	Statutory	1852	1903
6	Michigan	Statutory	1853	1875
7	Connecticut	Statutory	1854	1872
8	Delaware	Statutory	1855	1857
9	Indiana ¹	Statutory	1855	1858
10	Iowa	Statutory	1855	1857
11	Nebraska	Statutory	1855	1858
12	New Hampshire	Statutory	1855	1903
13	New York ²	Statutory	1855	1856
1	Maine	Statutory	1858	
14	Kansas	Statutory	1867	
3	Massachusetts	Statutory	1869	1875
4	Rhode Island	Statutory	1874	1875
14	Kansas	Constitutional	1880	
10	Iowa ¹	Constitutional	1882	1883
1	Maine	Constitutional	1884	
10	Iowa	Statutory	1884	1894
4	Rhode Island	Constitutional	1886	1889
15	South Dakota	Constitutional	1889	1896
16	North Dakota	Constitutional	1889	
17	Georgia	Statutory	1907	
18	Oklahoma	Constitutional	1907	
19	Alabama	Statutory	1908	1911
20	Mississippi	Statutory	1908	
21	Tennessee	Statutory	1909	
22	North Carolina	Statutory	1909	
23	West Virginia	Constitutional	1912	
24	Colorado	Constitutional	1914	
25	Virginia	Statutory	1914	
26	Arizona	Constitutional	1914	
27	Oregon	Constitutional	1914	
28	Washington	Statutory	1914	
29	Arkansas	Statutory	1915	
30	Idaho	Statutory	1915	
10	Iowa	Statutory	1915	
21	Alabama	Statutory	1915	
31	South Carolina	Statutory	1915	

¹ Declared unconstitutional by the courts.

The second Prohibition movement in the United States may be said to have begun with the adoption of a state-wide law in Georgia in 1907. It has affected the South and West chiefly, fifteen states in these sections of the country having adopted Prohibition since Georgia did, and several more will vote on the question within the next two years.

Table 1, on page 2, shows the list of states that have actually adopted Prohibition as a state-wide measure. In Wisconsin in 1855 and in Utah in 1915 such a bill passed both houses of the legislature, but was vetoed by the governor. In most of the other states Prohibition bills have been considered in the legislature, or submitted to the voters in a referendum. Thirty-one of the states have actually adopted a state-wide law or amendment to the constitution, several of them repealing it and then adopting it again. In nineteen of the states, or more than one-third of the total number, it is now incorporated in the law, eight of them having written it into their constitutions.

In the following states the people are soon to vote on Prohibition as a state-wide measure:

State	Statutory or constitutional	Date of vote
Ohio	Constitutional	November 1915
Vermont	Statutory	March 1916
Idaho	Constitutional	November 1916
South Dakota	Constitutional	November 1916
Montana	Statutory	November 1916
Iowa ¹	Constitutional	November 1917

¹ If ratified by the legislature in 1917.

As a nation-wide measure by an amendment to the federal constitution, Prohibition was first introduced in Congress by Henry W. Blair in 1876, he then being a member of the House of Representatives. On December 22, 1914, the Hobson resolution was debated and voted upon in the House. While it failed to get the two-thirds vote that is necessary to pass an amendment to the Constitution, and failed to get the votes of a majority of all members of the House, it did get the votes of a majority of those voting on it. Perhaps the most important thing about this vote is the fact that it showed, as William J. Bryan pointed out in his Commoner, that the argument that national Prohibition would be a violation of states' rights

did not have great weight with the members of Congress. The following list is taken from the Commoner for January, 1915.

The States' Rights States

Analysis of vote passed in the House on the Hobson resolution:

	Yeas	Nays	Not voting
Alabama	4	5	1
Arkansas	7	..	..
Florida	2	..	2
Georgia	8	3	1
Louisiana	1	6	1
Mississippi	7	1	..
North Carolina	6	1	3
South Carolina	7	..	..
Tennessee	9	..	1
Texas	4	12	2
Virginia	8	2	..
	63	30	11

TABLE 2
LIQUOR STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1909

	Distilled liquors	Malt liquors	Vinous liquors	Total
Number of establishments	613	1,414	290	2,317
Persons engaged	8,328	66,725	2,726	77,779
Capital invested	\$ 72,450,000	\$671,158,000	\$27,908,000	\$771,516,000
Wages paid	3,074,000	41,206,000	972,000	45,252,000
Cost of materials used ..	35,977,000	96,596,000	6,626,000	139,199,000
Value of product	204,699,000	374,730,000	13,121,000	592,550,000

The size of the liquor industry, the annihilation of which Prohibition contemplates, is shown in Table 2. These are the official figures for 1909, given in the 1910 census report. They show that the liquor industry, that is, the manufacturing of liquor, employs a body of men about the size of the entire standing army of the United States, that its invested capital is greater than the total assessed value of the city of St. Louis, or about twice what the Panama Canal cost, and that the total wages it paid in that year were greater than those paid in the same year in the hosiery and knit goods industries of the country.

The liquor interests claim that they pay higher wages than the average industry, and their opponents claim that a given amount of capital invested in the liquor business will furnish

employment for fewer men than the same capital invested in almost any other industry. The facts seem to sustain both of these contentions, but it is interesting to observe that a smaller percentage of the total expenditure goes out in wages than in the average industry, as is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Industry	Per cent of total expenses reported for			
	Salaries	Wages	Materials	Misc. ex.
Average all industries	5.1	18.6	65.8	10.5
Distilled liquors	1.0	1.6	18.4	79.0
Malt liquors	7.6	13.7	32.2	46.5

In Table 4 are shown the statistics concerning the consumption of liquors in the United States. The increase in the number of Prohibition and local option states has not yet decreased the amount of liquor used. The per capita consumption is now five times as much as it was in the middle of the nineteenth century when the first Prohibition movement began, but this increase has been in the malt liquors which contain a smaller percentage of alcohol. We might summarize this table by saying that the average American family consumes almost four barrels of alcoholic liquor a year.

TABLE 4

ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR CONSUMED IN THE UNITED STATES

From the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1914. p. 675.

Year	Total consumption	Wines Gals.	Per capita consumption		Total Gals.
	Gals.		Spirits Gals.	Beer Gals.	
1840	71,244,823	.29	2.52	1.36	4.17
1850	94,712,853	.27	2.23	1.58	4.08
1860	202,120,007	.34	2.86	3.22	6.42
1870	296,876,931	.32	2.07	5.31	7.70
1875	381,065,041	.45	1.50	6.71	8.67
1880	505,845,038	.56	1.27	8.26	10.08
1885	689,424,459	.39	1.27	10.62	12.28
1890	972,705,175	.46	1.40	13.67	15.53
1895	1,142,552,426	.30	1.14	15.13	16.57
1900	1,349,732,435	.39	1.28	16.09	17.76
1905	1,694,455,976	.41	1.42	18.02	19.85
1910	2,045,353,450	.65	1.42	20.09	22.19
1914	2,252,272,765	.52	1.46	20.51	22.50

Prohibition, like every radical social reform intended for the general good, should be judged by its results. And what

are these *results*? Three states, it might seem, have tried Prohibition long enough to enable students to form an opinion as to its practicability. Maine has had it since 1858, Kansas since 1869, and North Dakota since 1889. These states would appear sufficiently far apart to furnish a threefold experiment.

But even if these states had made no amendment in their own Prohibition law since its first adoption, the changes in the United States law are such that we have not yet the data necessary to form the basis for a final judgment of the workings of Prohibition. The "original package" decision in 1890 (135 U. S. 100), the Wilson law in 1890, and the Webb-Kenyon law of 1913 have been equivalent to fundamental changes in the state laws, for they have altered the status of Prohibition very materially.

Considering these facts, how well has Prohibition succeeded?

Prof. A. R. Hatton, of Western Reserve University, in speaking to the Pittsburgh Conference for Good City Government, said: "Prohibition by law operating uniformly throughout the state to which it is applied is one of the highest praised and most condemned institutions which this country knows. The fact seems to be that it deserves without stint neither the one nor the other." "The advocates of the prohibition of the liquor traffic," says the Royal Commission of Canada, "claim that where laws of a prohibitory nature have been enacted material benefits have followed, that the customs of the people have improved, the condition of the community been greatly advanced, the moral tone raised, and marked social advance made. On the contrary, it is asserted by those opposed to prohibitory legislation, that such enactments have been followed by the development of other evils, that the traffic in intoxicants has been driven into corners, back alleys, and other hiding places, that it is carried on in the lowest places by the dregs of society, that it produces perjury and hypocrisy amongst the people, corruption among officials, tends to increase drunkenness in homes and the sale of adulterated and poisonous liquor."

Such is usually the testimony when zealous social reformers and selfish business interests come in conflict, and the most obvious conclusion is that the student must scan all evidence with great care. In the heat of such a conflict rash and inaccurate statements are apt to issue from both parties. For example, in a pamphlet very widely circulated over the country a few years ago is the statement that alcohol causes

2,000 deaths a day in the United States alone, and in another issued by the other side we read the claim that more liquor is consumed in the Prohibition states than in the license states. No comment is necessary! While one need not go quite so far as Mr. Isaac Fisher in his able article in Everybody's Magazine for September, 1914 (reprinted in full in this volume) and say, "The only opinions on the liquor problem that are worth very much are those held by persons who have no immediate personal interest in the preservation of the saloon or in its abolition," still we should at least go so far as to follow the rule of Bacon and "Read not to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider."

TABLE 5

THE RESULTS OF PROHIBITION

(As shown by the official statistics of the United States for the year 1910 unless otherwise indicated)

	United States	New England States	Maine	West North Central States	North Dakota	Kansas
Insane in hospitals, per 100,000 of population .	204.2	298.8	169.5	194.9	108.8	172.2
Feeble-minded in institutions, per 100,000 of population	36.9	54.4	40.6	46.6	27.0	36.9
Paupers in almshouses, per 100,000 of population .	91.5	181.4	127.3	54.7	14.0	43.5
Sentenced prisoners in penal institutions per 100,000 of population..	121.4	161.6	98.3	80.2	63.3	91.1
Per cent of persons 10 years of age and older illiterate	7.7	0.7	1.4	1.7	0.3	0.8
Per cent of homes owned	45.8	39.7	62.3	58.1	75.1	59.1
Per cent of persons 6 to 20 years of age attending school	62.3	66.1	67.7	67.9	64.1	70.6
Per cent of children 6 to 14 years of age attending school	81.4	91.9	89.2	87.5	80.7	88.2
Per cent of total population 15 years of age and over divorced....	.5	.67	1.0	.6	.3	.7
Average annual number of divorces 1898-1902 per 100,000 of married population	200	173	282	248	268	286

Nothing is clearer than that a comparison of one Prohibition state with one other adjoining license state, in respect to any of the conditions that it might be expected would be affected by Prohibition, would not form the basis for a conclusion of any value. In Table 5, on page 7, is shown a comparison of the *three* states that have given Prohibition a fair trial with the whole United States, and with the group of states of which the Prohibition states are members. This is the fairest comparison that can be made, yet even here it is difficult to make a comparison on the basis of crime and death, because these statistics are not in such shape as to make a satisfactory comparison possible. An effort to make such a comparison was made by Hon. Oscar W. Underwood in his speech on the Hobson resolution, reprinted in this volume, to which the reader is referred.

When we enquire as to whether alcohol is food or poison, we find that the authorities are not in agreement. The best we can do is to quote the conclusions of the best experts.

LAMAR T. BEMAN.

September 20, 1915.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Coleman, Walter M. Human Biology

The Physiological Effects of Alcohol

The more blood goes to the skin, the more blood is cooled. The body as a whole may be cooler, but we feel warmer when there is more blood in the skin because of the effect of the warm blood upon the nerves of temperature. There are no nerves for perceiving temperature except in the skin and mucous membrane, and the body has practically no sensation of heat and cold except from the skin or mucous membrane. That alcoholic drinks make the skin red is commonly noticed. Often the skin is flushed by one drink; the bloodshot eyes and purple skin of the toper are the results of habitual use. Can you explain why alcohol brings a deceptive feeling of warmth? Why does alcohol increase the danger of freezing during very cold weather? pp. 21-2.

After a person has taken an alcoholic drink his face and skin are likely to become flushed, and perhaps his heart beats faster. Most investigators have found that the alcohol itself does not directly increase or strengthen the action of the heart. Hence it is probably wrong to call alcohol a heart stimulant. The flushing of the skin is believed to be due to the relaxing effect of alcohol. It relaxes, it paralyzes, the vasomotor nerves which control the little muscle fibers in the walls of the blood vessels. The relaxing and enlarging of the blood vessels decreases the resistance to the blood flow, and the heart beats faster under its lighter load. The narcotic effect of alcohol is much more powerful than its irritating or stimulating effect. The effect of alcohol in causing fatty degeneration of the muscles often weakens the heart and other blood vessels. pp. 67-8.

A few years ago Professor Atwater proved that if alcohol is taken in small quantities it is so completely burned in the body that not over 2 per cent is excreted. He inferred that it

is a food, since it gives heat to the body and possibly gives energy also. His experiments did not show whether any organ was weakened or injured by its use. As alcohol is chiefly burned in the liver, it probably cannot supply energy as is the case with food burned in nerve cell and muscle cell. The heat supplied by its burning is largely lost by the rush of blood to the skin usually caused by drinking the alcohol. Dr. Beebe, unlike Professor Atwater, experimented upon persons who had never taken alcohol, and whose bodies had not had time to become trained to resist its evil effects. He found that it caused an increased excretion of nitrogen. When the body became used to it, this decreased, but the proteid excreted by the kidneys contained an abnormal amount of a harmful material called uric acid. Uric acid, a substance which is present in rheumatism and other diseases, is usually destroyed by the liver. As the burden of destroying the alcohol falls chiefly upon the liver, it is not surprising to find that it is so weakened and injured by alcoholic drink that it cannot fully perform its important functions. Bright's disease and other diseases accompanied by uric acid are more frequent among persons who use alcoholic drinks. pp. 113-4.

Journal of the American Medical Association. 35: 68.
July 14, 1900

The Relation of Alcohol to Nutrition. Is Alcohol a Food?

Dr. Winfield S. Hall

W. O. Atwater, professor of chemistry at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and head of the work being done in the government experiment stations on the chemistry of foods, has arraigned the school textbooks of physiology before the American people on the charge of falsehood, because these books teach the boys of America that alcohol is a poison and not a food, while his experiments with men shut up in a calorimeter demonstrate to his satisfaction that "alcohol is a food" and "not a poison, in moderate quantities." Professor Atwater's definition of food is "that which taken into the body builds tissues or yields energy." Note especially the alternative between "tissue-building" and "energy-yielding." According to this experimenter, any substance is a food if it is oxidized "in

the body" anywhere between the mouth and the excretory surface. Not since the days of Liebig, a half-century ago, have the bars that set a boundary to foods been so ruthlessly torn down. Even iron filings and phosphorus satisfy the terms of this definition; and a long list of ptomaines, leucomaines, and toxins come clearly within the definition.

Journal of the American Medical Association. 35: 71.

July 14, 1900.

Dr. Winfield S. Hall

The Truth About

Alcohol

1. A certain quantity will produce a certain effect at first, but it requires more and more to produce the same effect when the drug is used habitually.
2. When used habitually, it is likely to induce an uncontrollable desire for more, in ever increasing amounts.
3. After its habitual use a sudden total abstinence is likely to cause a serious derangement of the central nervous system.
4. Alcohol is oxidized rapidly in the body.
5. Alcohol, not being useful, is not stored in the body.
6. Alcohol is a product of decomposition of food in the presence of a scarcity of oxygen.
7. Alcohol is an excretion and, in common with all excretions, is poisonous. It may be beneficial in certain phases of disease, but it is never beneficial to the healthy body.
8. The use of alcohol, in common with narcotics in general, is followed by a reaction.
9. The use of alcohol is followed by a decrease in the activity of the muscle-cells and brain cells.
10. The use of alcohol is followed by a decrease in the secretion of CO_2 .
11. The use of alcohol is followed by an accumulation of fat thru decreased activity.
12. The use of alcohol is followed by a fall in body temperature.
13. The use of alcohol weakens and unsteadies the muscles.
14. The use of alcohol makes the brain less active and accurate.

Food

1. A certain quantity will produce a certain effect at first, and the same quantity will always produce the same effect in a healthy body.
2. The habitual use of food never induces an uncontrollable desire for it, in ever increasing amounts.
3. After its habitual use a sudden total abstinence never causes any derangement of the central nervous system.
4. All foods are oxidized slowly in the body.
5. All foods, being useful, are stored in the body.
6. All foods are the products of constructive activity of protoplasm in the presence of abundant oxygen.
7. All foods are formed by nature for nourishment and are by nature wholesome and always beneficial to the healthy body, tho they may injure the body in certain phases of disease.
8. The use of foods is followed by no reaction.
9. The use of food is followed by an increased activity of the muscle-cells and brain-cells.
10. The use of food is followed by an increase in the excretion of CO_2 .
11. The use of food may be followed by an accumulation of fat, notwithstanding increased activity.
12. The use of food is followed by a rise in body temperature.
13. The use of food strengthens and steadies the muscles.
14. The use of food makes the brain more active and accurate.

Stewart, Dr. G. N. A Manual of Physiology. pp. 618-19**The Facts about Alcohol**

1. In small quantities alcohol is oxidized in the body, a little of it, however, being excreted unchanged in the breath and urine. A certain amount of protein is saved from decomposition when alcohol is taken, just as when fat or sugar is taken. For example, the addition of 130 grams of sugar to the daily food of an individual caused a sparing of 0.3 gram nitrogen. The substitution of 72 grams alcohol for the sugar caused 0.2 gram nitrogen to be spared. (Atwater and Benedict.) Alcohol is therefore to some extent a food substance, although it is not, under ordinary circumstances, taken for the sake of the energy its oxidation can supply, but as a stimulant.

2. There is no reason to suppose that this energy cannot be utilized as a source of work in the body. Indeed a certain amount of alcohol may be normally formed in the tissues as one of the intermediate products in the oxidation of sugar. Heat can certainly be produced from it, but this is far more than counterbalanced by the increase in the heat loss which the dilation of the cutaneous vessels caused by alcohol brings about.

3. It is a valuable drug, when judiciously employed, in certain diseases—e. g. pneumonia, and puerperal insanity. (Clouston.)

4. Alcohol is occasionally of use in disorders not amounting to serious diseases—e. g. in some cases of slow and difficult digestion. In these cases it may act by increasing the flow of certain of the digestive secretions, as saliva and gastric juice. This effect seems to more than counterbalance the retarding influence which, except when well diluted, it exerts on the chemical processes of digestion.

The action of alcohol on the secretion of gastric juice has been studied in a dog with a double gastric and oesophageal fistula. Before or during a sham meal of meat, alcohol diluted with water was given as an enema. After the enema the quantity of hydrochloric acid secreted increased in about the same proportion as the quantity of juice, but the pepsin was diminished, reaching a minimum after three-quarters to one and a quarter hours. The increase in the total quantity of the juice and in the acid over-compensated the moderate diminution in the

digestive power, so that the net result was beneficial. (Pekelharing.) But it must be remembered that strong alcoholic beverages, when mixed with the gastric juice, and therefore when taken by the mouth, retard the proteolytic action, so that any favorable effect on the secretion of the juice may easily be lost in the subsequent digestion, unless the alcohol is dilute. (Chittenden and Mendel.) The action of alcohol introduced into the rectum on the gastric secretion is both reflex and direct.

5. Alcohol is of no use for healthy men.

6. Alcohol in strictly moderate doses (not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of absolute alcohol), properly diluted and especially when taken with food, is not harmful to healthy men, living and working under ordinary conditions.

7. Modern experience goes to show that in severe and continuous exertion, coupled with exposure to all weathers, as in war and in exploring expeditions, alcohol is injurious, and it is well known that it must be avoided in mountain climbing.

Alcohol in small doses, when given by the stomach or (in animals) injected into the blood, causes stimulation of the respiratory center and increase in the pulmonary ventilation. In man, this increase usually amounts to 8 to 15 per cent, but is occasionally much greater. But the limit which separates the favorable action of the small dose from the hurtful action of the large, is easily overstepped. When this is done, and the dose is continually increased, the activity of the respiratory center is first diminished and finally abolished. In dogs, for instance, after the injection of considerable quantities of alcohol into the stomach, death takes place from respiratory failure, and the breathing when the heart is still unweakened. This is the final outcome of a progressive impairment in the activity of the center, of which the slow and heavy breathing of the drunken man represents an earlier stage.

West Virginia Medical Journal. 7: 260-4. February, 1913

Alcohol and Heredity. Dr. C. C. Wholey

Whether or not the question of the effect of alcohol upon heredity be debatable, science leaves no grounds for discussion as to the direct effect upon the individual. It is not necessary, indeed, to call upon science for demonstration; a walk through

a ward for alcoholics, or for the insane in any hospital, lays bare the appalling results of chronic alcoholism—all grades of inflammation of the nerves from that of the single nerve, or group of nerves, to complete paralysis of the arms and legs. There is in the body no nerve which may not become the seat of inflammation induced by alcohol; and the brain itself may become affected, manifesting the injury in delirium tremens, strange delusions, and lapses of memory, under which crimes, impossible to the same individual under normal condition, such as forgery or murder, may be committed, and finally the result is all too often incurable insanity. I will quote from the latest bulletin of Manhattan State Hospital: "Of the insane under the care of the state 28 per cent owe their insanity to alcohol as a determining cause. In many instances there are other contributing causes, but these cases of insanity would not have occurred had it not been for the use of alcohol." Dr. Hoch says: "From a series of 15,000 male patients admitted to hospitals in New York and Massachusetts, 24 per cent suffered from alcoholic insanity."

Cushny, the most noted modern authority on the action of drugs, says: "Even the smallest quantities of alcohol tend to lessen the activity of the brain, the drug appearing to act most strongly, and, therefore in the smallest quantities, on the most recently acquired faculties, to annihilate those qualities which have been built up through education and experience, the power of self-control, and the sense of responsibility."

Brief Excerpts

To talk of alcohol as a food is really absurd.—*Dr. Woods Hutchinson in "A Handbook of Health," p. 97.*

Alcohol tends to lower the temperature of the body by increasing the amount of heat lost.—*Dr. Milton J. Rosenau in "Preventive Medicine and Hygiene," p. 355.*

The long and sad experience of the race with alcohol proves that the attempt to adapt the body to its use should be given up.—*Walter M. Coleman in "Human Biology," p. 22.*

In small quantities therefore alcohol can act as a food. This function, however, is quite unimportant, and is overshadowed

by the poisonous action of the substance.—*Dr. Ernest H. Starling in "Principles of Human Physiology," p. 724.*

Alcohol does not belong to the poisons. It is rather a substance which, taken in moderation, nourishes and exerts special effects on the nervous system, effects that are not even disturbances, and therefore not phenomena of poisoning.—*Dr. J. Starke in "Alcohol, the Sanction for Its Use," p. xx.*

I think that I am not overstating the case in saying that an ordinary, healthy adult may take without injury $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 ounces of whisky (or other spirits) or two pints of light ale, or the equivalent in some other form of alcoholic drink, in a day. Possibly I might go further and state that in the case of a young, vigorous man, taking much vigorous exercise, producing excessive tissue waste, even more might be consumed without injury. The same applies to the hard-working laborer, the performance of whose daily work entails great output of muscular energy.—*Dr. Sydney Hillier in "Popular Drugs," pp. 61-2.*

If there does exist any minimum of alcohol which is harmless, it must be exceedingly small. The best recent statistics indicate that even moderate drinking is harmful. The results of the medico-actuarial investigation based on statistical data from forty-three American life insurance companies covering an experience of twenty-five years shows (1) that the individuals who took two glasses of beer or a glass of whisky or an equivalent amount of alcohol in any form each day showed a mortality 18 per cent higher than the average of the group; (2) that the mortality among those who had indulged in occasional alcoholic excesses previous to their application for life insurance was 50 per cent higher than the average, which means the loss of four years to such lives; (3) that men who acknowledged the habit of indulging somewhat freely, but who were still considered acceptable for insurance, showed a mortality of 86 per cent higher than the average. These were all men who would call themselves, and who would be called, moderate drinkers.—*Prof. Irving Fisher in "Eli Spring Book," May, 1915.*

Everybody's Magazine. 31:383-8. September, 1914

Rum and Remedies. Isaac Fisher

What I know about the rum or liquor question is really what I have learned from the experiences and investigations of others. The whole subject is so broad that I think what is said above is true of all persons who have tried to understand the drink problem. I prefer, therefore, to say that I have learned:—

That few persons have taken time to consider that there are four aspects of the liquor question; namely: legislative, economic, physiological, and ethical or moral. Great hosts of those who discuss the subject assume that the whole question is ethical only.

That candidates for public office are seldom in a position to make the best spokesmen against the liquor traffic, nor are their words worthy of greatest weight when spoken for the saloon.

That the only opinions on the liquor problem that are worth very much are those held by persons who have no immediate personal interest in the preservation of the saloon or in its abolition. Men and women who have demonstrated by constructive work in other fields their interest in mankind at large deserve a hearing on the liquor question when they essay to discuss it.

With these premises before me, I determined to lay aside the partisan conclusions and arguments for and against the liquor traffic, met with every day, and search for the conclusions of persons falling within the third class above. Two sets of such persons I have found: (1) The Committee of Fifty; and (2) The American Society for the Study of Alcohol and other Narcotics.

The Committee of Fifty

The men who composed the famous Committee of Fifty, in 1898, are persons long connected with movements concerning the highest good of the United States of America. They represented different communities, occupations, and opinions; and they were not, with very few exceptions, candidates for office; at the same time they were men of the highest personal honor.

Before arriving at any conclusions, the committee examined:

Prohibition in Maine

Prohibition in Iowa

South Carolina dispensary system

Restrictive system in Massachusetts

Liquor laws of Pennsylvania

Ohio liquor tax

Liquor laws in Indiana since 1851

Missouri local option law

This examination concluded, the body reported at great length upon the subject. Its findings on the *legislative* aspects of the liquor problem may be summarized as follows:

I. Prohibition

Successes: Abolition and prevention on large scale of sale of distilled and malt liquors within areas covered by it.

Removed temptation from young and from persons disposed to alcoholic excess in communities where sentiment is strongly in its favor.

Promoted the invention and adoption of many useful restrictions.

Failures: Has failed to exclude intoxicants completely even from districts where public sentiment has been favorable.

Has failed, of course, to subdue the drinking passion.

Evils: Open defiance of law.

Evasion of law.

Courts have been weakened.

Two-faced and mercenary law officers.

Hypocritical and truckling candidates for office.

Unfaithful office-holders.

II. Local Option

Possesses the merit that public sentiment supports the officials who administer the law.

III. Licenses

Weaknesses: Officials elected for short terms make bad licensing-agents because liquor is constantly in politics.

Where courts grant license, the former are placed under suspicion, particularly if the judges' offices are elective.

Where commissioners grant license, they force liquor-sellers into politics for protection.

Where bonds are required, it has been found that wholesale liquor-dealers get control of retailers by signing their bonds for them.

Certificates of character for liquor-dealers have not proven of much value, since careless officials often have to receive them.

IV. *Restrictions on Sales*

Apparently these have reduced the consumption of liquor, though the amount of the reduction cannot be determined.

V. *Checks upon Druggists*

The license restrictions upon druggists have checked evil to some extent, but have not controlled the sale of liquor by druggists.

The committee found it so very difficult to draw any useful inferences as to the effects upon the liquor traffic of *arresting persons for drunkenness* that they did not attempt to formulate conclusions on the subject.

As to the results of legislating so as to *remove from the sale of liquor the motive for private profit*, the committee held that this had nowhere been successfully carried out up to that time.

Regarding *the question whether Prohibition prohibits*—whether it has decreased the consumption of intoxicants and diminished drunkenness, the committee said: “No demonstration on either of these points has been reached, or is now attainable, *after more than forty years of observation and experience.*”

As a basis for its report on the *economic* aspects of the liquor problem, the committee investigated 33 charity organizations, 60 almshouses, 11 children’s societies, and 17 prisons and reformatories, besides having the assistance of several state boards of charities and correction.

The committee’s report on the economic phase of the subject is extremely valuable because it covers, with the exception of the German reports of 1885 and 1887, a larger number of cases than any other report; a greater variety of cases of pauperism; a much wider area than any other report, and a greater number of nationalities. Below are tabulated some conclusions which logically flow from the committee’s investigations of this phase of the subject:

I. *The Supposed Creation of Wealth*

(Figures are for the year 1896)

Of corn, rye, and barley, 58,000,000 bushels went into the production of liquor.

In 1890, \$289,775,639 represented the annual value of liquor produced.

Capital invested in making and retailing liquor was over \$957,000,000.

It was estimated that 1,800,000 persons derived their livelihood from the liquor traffic.

The liquor traffic paid in taxes to support national, state, and local governments \$183,213,124.

II. The Destruction of Wealth—Poverty

POVERTY DUE TO LIQUOR

Charity Organization Societies—25 per cent of poverty found in these was due directly and indirectly to liquor. 18 per cent of poverty was due directly and 9 per cent indirectly. (In some cases liquor was both direct and indirect cause, making seeming discrepancy.)

22.7 per cent of males were poor because of their own drunkenness; 12.4 per cent of females had come to want because of their own intemperance. 3.8 per cent of males were poor from drunkenness of others; but 17 per cent of females came to want through drunkenness of others.

14 per cent of aliens were poor from liquor, 17 per cent of native-born citizens, and 25 per cent of naturalized citizens. 19 per cent of whites found were poor from liquor, and 9 per cent of negroes.

Almshouses—37 per cent of persons found in these had come to want through use of liquor. 32 per cent of cases were due directly to liquor, and 8 per cent indirectly.

42 per cent of males were poor because of their own drunkenness, and 16.5 per cent of females because of their own. 6 per cent of males owed their poverty to drunkenness of others; but 12.7 per cent of females had come to want through the drunkenness of others.

23 per cent of aliens were poor from liquor. 29 per cent of native-born citizens poor from liquor. 43 per cent of naturalized citizens poor from liquor. 33 per cent of whites found in these were poor from liquor, and 17 per cent of negroes.

Destitution of children—45 per cent at least due to intemperance of parents.

43.5 per cent of children of native-born parents were destitute because of drunkenness of parents; 49.5 per cent of chil-

dren of foreign parents were so destitute; and 60.5 per cent of children of foreign father and native or unknown mother owed their want to the same cause.

46 per cent of children of white parents were destitute because of intemperance of their parents; and 39 per cent of children of negroes.

CRIME DUE TO LIQUOR

50 per cent of cases of crime were due to liquor in connection with other causes.

31 per cent of cases of crime were due to liquor as a first cause.

Economic Forces Working Against Liquor

I. The Self-Interest of Wage-Earners.—The influence of labor and trade unions is powerful in teaching—

Sobriety during strikes

Moderation in drink, by requiring it.

Sobriety, by refusing at times to help reinstate men discharged for drunkenness.

Temperateness, by often refusing to admit drunkards.

Sobriety, by excluding drunkards from sick benefits.

Sobriety, by fining members for intoxication.

Sobriety, by excluding liquor from all of their entertainments.

Sobriety, through desire of union men to elect only sober men to fill the high positions in the unions.

II. The Self-Interest of Employers.—Employers have been moved to prohibit drinking by their employees—

To set good example for other employees.

To guard against temptation.

To prevent accidents.

To secure better work.

To secure more economy.

To secure greater responsibility in positions of trust.

Economic Forces Working for, or Favorable to, Liquor

The capital invested in the liquor traffic.

The number of persons who get their living from the liquor traffic.

For students of the drink problem, the most valuable findings of the committee are the following:

The difficulties in the way of researches of this kind are enormous. In matters which affect private character, truthful reports are proverbially hard to obtain. The accessible statistics are incomplete or inaccurate, or both. The effects of intemperance in promoting vice and crime are often mixed with the effects of many other causes, such as unhealthy occupations, bad lodgings, poor food, and inherited disabilities; and it is very difficult to disentangle intemperance as a cause from other causes of vice, crime, and pauperism. At every point connected with these investigations the studious observer encounters an intense partisanship, which blinds the eyes of witnesses and obscures the judgment of writers and speakers on the subject.

Although the committee examined the *physiological* aspects of the liquor problem, I have purposely turned from their report on the subject to that of a body of medical scientists—the American Association for the Study of Alcohol and Other Narcotics, in session in Washington, D. C., in 1909.

The conclusions reached at that meeting are summarized as follows:

1. *Alcohol not a food*—Authority, the President of the American Society for the Study of Alcohol and other Narcotics.
2. *Not only a poison, but renders the body more susceptible to disease*—Authority, same as above.
3. *Does not sustain physical powers nor prevent fatigue*—Authority as before (also pp. 45, 46).
4. *Does not aid digestion*—Authority, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Battle Creek Sanitarium.
5. *Injures the entire system*—Authority, Dr. C. H. Hughes, Editor the *Alienist and Neurologist*. Alcohol abstracts water from the tissues, function fails, then destruction of the vital organs sets in.
6. *Impairs fecundity*—Authority, same as in 1.
7. *Impairs mentality*—British Association for the Advancement of Science.
8. *Abrides life*—(Authority, Sir Victor Horsley) Through—

A. DISEASES DUE TO ALCOHOL ALONE

Acute alcoholic poisoning; acute mania; delirium tremens; chronic alcoholic insanity; alcoholic epilepsy; alcoholic neuritis.

B. DISEASES OF WHICH ALCOHOL IS FREQUENTLY A
DETERMINING OR CONTRIBUTING CAUSE

[Under this heading Mr. Fisher mentions twenty-five diseases. We have not room to print the list.—Editors.]

C. OTHER AGENCIES

Accidents caused by alcohol; infant mortality due to alcoholism of mashers; premature death caused by alcohol.

When we turn to the discussion of the effects which alcoholism has upon man's *ethical* relations—his duty, whether to himself, his family, community, state, or his God—we find that there is little need for extended argument or minute cataloging. The only thing necessary is to determine to what extent alcoholism is responsible for these sins against the "Thou shalt's" and the "Thou shalt not's."

Alcohol Weakens the Will

Dr. C. H. Hughes, Editor of the *Alienist and Neurologist* (Senate Document 48; 61st Congress, 1st session, p. 21), and a great cloud of other witnesses, say that that alcohol extracts the water from all the tissues, and so "robs the brain of its normal functioning capacity, impairing it in mental and psychomotor and moral capabilities." The significance of this statement is best understood when it is recalled that the brain and nerves are 80 per cent water. The conclusion here is irresistible:

Intemperance and Drunkenness Are Wrong

The performance of all duties, the use of all faculties are dependent upon the will, and it is wrong not to perform one's duties. Alcoholism weakens—often destroys—the will. Therefore, alcoholism is wrong because by destroying or weakening the will it prevents the performance of duties which of right ought to be performed.

Best Remedies for the Liquor Traffic

Stop denouncing anybody about the liquor traffic.

Get the truth about the liquor question in all of its aspects.

(a) Interest of physicians must be enlisted so that they will take a stand against liquor. They can help by—

Making clear statements as to uselessness of alcohol as a food and medicine.

Making clear statements of the injurious effects of alcohol upon animal organism.

Showing the effects of the habitual use of small quantities of alcohol.

Showing the effects of the grasp of habit.

Showing whether the pleasures of indulgence can offset the resulting evils.

Giving the correct explanation of the seeming stimulation of liquor.

Showing the relation of moderation to immoderation and loss of self-control.

(b) Interest students of morbid psychology in the study of causes 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 mentioned above.

Get the truth about the whole liquor question *to* the people.

Intercollegiate Statesman. 12:73-6. February, 1915

The Congressional Debate on National Prohibition.

D. Leigh Colvin

The Hobson Resolution

Whereas exact scientific research has demonstrated that alcohol is a narcotic poison, destructive and degenerating to the human organism, and that its distribution as a beverage or contained in foods lays a staggering economic burden upon the shoulders of the people, lowers to an appalling degree the average standard of character of our citizenship, thereby undermining the public morals and the foundation of free institutions; produces widespread crime, pauperism, and insanity; inflicts disease and untimely death upon hundreds of thousands of citizens and blights with degeneracy their children unborn, threatening the future integrity and the very life of the nation. Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment of the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the states, to become valid as a part of the constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several states as provided by the constitution.

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof are forever prohibited.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation."

The first time that the issue of national Prohibition ever reached the floor of Congress it received a majority vote in the House of Representatives. The debate on December 22 lasted over ten hours and over eighty representatives took part, about an equal number on each side. There were many strong arguments on the Prohibition side, but the Prohibition advocates did not exhaust the resources of possible material to the degree that the anti-Prohibitionists did. This was due partly to the fact that many of the congressmen are comparatively new as advocates of Prohibition, but chiefly to the fact that the liquor interests had apparently organized their forces in advance, had assigned different phases to different speakers and abundantly supplied them with well prepared material. The liquor supporters seemed to put forth about every anti-Prohibition argument which has been devised.

The Ten Best Speeches on Each Side

Only a suggestion of the argument is possible in the space here. The debate is contained in the Congressional Record of December 22, 1914, and twenty-five additional speeches or "extension of remarks" are in the back pages of the Record for the five succeeding days, December 23, 29, 30, 31 and January 2, 1915, with a few scattered through later dates.

The better speeches on the Prohibition side were by Hobson, pages 533 and 585; Campbell, 518; Kelly, 523; Hulings, 532; Thomson, 538; Webb, 539; Lindquist, 547; Powers, 550; Lindbergh, 564, and Stephens, 579.

The better speeches in opposition to the resolution were by Cantrill, 519; Pou, 527; Mann, 542; Bartholdt, 553; Barchfield, 558; Henry, 623; Vollmer, 634; Underwood, 691; Witherspoon, 702, and Morrison, 750. "Extension of remarks," indicating the positions of opponents after the debate was over: Graham, 759; Stringer, 874, and Adair, 955.

I. The Argument for National Constitutional Prohibition

1. *The nature of alcohol.* Mr. Hobson based his fundamental argument on the scientific facts concerning alcohol. It is (a) a protoplasmic poison, (b) a habit-forming drug, (c)

has an affinity for the top of the brain, attacking the line of human evolution. Alcohol interferes with the orderly evolution of the human race. It shortens life and blights offspring. Do not talk about Prohibition invading the rights of individuals; liquor blights the rights of our citizens before they are born. Science shows that not only distilled liquors do harm, but all alcohol does harm, and that not only the abuse of alcohol is bad but the widespread moderate drinking produces much more harm than drunkenness.

2. *The social consequences of alcohol* as a basis for Prohibition were frequently referred to. We owe a duty to society to protect it against the many evils that flow from the liquor traffic.

3. *Economic aspects* were (a) the big balance against the liquor traffic on account of the cost of taking care of its victims, (b) the loss in the productivity of labor, and (c) waste. If the traffic in itself is not desirable and useful then the employment of people in such useless and harmful occupation is a waste.

All those thrown out of employment by the adoption of Prohibition, and many more, could be supported in comfort by the undeveloped yet fertile lands of three Minnesota districts.

4. *The political menace.* The menace of the growing degenerate vote due to liquor affects not only voters and states but the nation. Liquor not only creates the degenerate vote but furnishes corruption funds to purchase it.

The organized traffic corrupts elections, debauches voters, debases many legislators and other officials. Political machines bottomed on the liquor traffic and supplied by it with corruption funds influence national elections, elect senators and congressmen. The purity of national elections, the integrity of national lawmaking bodies, the preservation of national institutions, all are deeply involved in the question and demand that action be taken by national authority.

5. *Why national.* While no speaker made a systematic argument showing the national character of the issue, most assuming it required no argument, several touched upon the national aspect.

(1) The traffic is national in scope, its proportions menace the nation as a whole, and no particular state is competent to solve the liquor problem.

(2) Under the present system of limiting Prohibition to

small units the great liquor trust has trampled upon the rights of states and communities and has taken pride in proclaiming that "Prohibition does not prohibit." This pose of the liquor outlaw that he is above the operation of local law is a conclusive demonstration of the need of national law.

(3) Local option and state Prohibition, though valuable and useful, have not proved adequate.

(4) So long as there is one state wet it will be the base of operations and source of supply for the liquor trust.

(5) A state does not have the right to be wet, because, being wet, no neighboring state can be protected in its right to be dry.

(6) Coping with trusts and monopolies is no longer regarded as a state task. The liquor trust was one of the first and worst great monopolies.

(7) This is a nation, and in many matters of common interest state lines and state rights are being wiped out by obvious necessities arising out of new conditions which state power cannot meet and which require the paramountcy of the federal government, and hence amendments to the constitution are from time to time required.

(8) It is not a question of whether the government has the moral right to take issue out of the hands of the states. But government has the right and should protect the people against an evil that is degenerating and destroying the homes of the American people.

6. *Analogous exercise of federal power.*

(1) Compared with the conservation movement. The government conserves forest, mineral and water power, the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, excepting alone the youth of the country, the human element, the nation itself. Prohibition provides for the national conservation of humanity.

(2) Monopolies. If the government has the right to put out of business the great monopolies and trusts it certainly has the right to put the liquor monopoly out of business.

(3) The federal government spends millions to eradicate the foot and mouth disease, the hog cholera, the boll weevil and the cattle tick. "Every time a pesky tick straddles the back of a mangy steer in any of the barren wastes of the sunny South has not the state rights statesman risen up in consternation and yelled to Uncle Sam for help? No question about state rights

then. It is good common sense and good state rights doctrine for the national government to spend millions every year in killing boll weevils, destroying ticks, and saving sick hogs, while not a copper goes to suppress the demon drink which is filling our prisons, despoiling our homes and damning our children?"

7. *Why constitutional Prohibition.* To cure this organic disease we must have recourse to organic law. It is needed to give permanency and to bring about the disintegration of the liquor trust. If Congress in the exercise of the taxing power should undertake to establish Prohibition by statute the liquor trust would not permanently disintegrate, because what any one Congress can do another Congress can undo. If Prohibition becomes established there will be a chance for a new generation to grow up sober.

8. *The object of the amendment* is to take away the power of the federal government and the states to propagate the liquor traffic. It aims to destroy the agency that debauches the youth of the land by stopping the profits from the sale of liquor. It is not a sumptuary measure. "It does not provide that a man shall not have or make liquor in his own home for his own use. It is directed only at the sale."

This drafting of the amendment so as to avoid the criticisms of being a so-called sumptuary measure was a vulnerable point which the opposition took large advantage of.

9. *Submission.* Perhaps more time was taken by the supporters of the resolution in urging their colleagues to submit it to the states and let the people decide than on any other phase. The people as the sovereign power have the right to say whether the governmental policy of partnership with the liquor traffic shall be continued. The tremendous popular demand for submission was shown by the fact that over 6,000,000 citizens had petitioned for it, ten times as many as ever petitioned any government in the history of the world, and also by the fact that 76 per cent of the area, containing 57 per cent of the people, had outlawed the saloon. To the argument that the people's will should be supreme the opposition responded that it was not to be submitted to the people but to the members of the legislatures, which is by no means the same thing. They also pointed out that it is different from an ordinary referendum in that there is no time limit within which an amendment must

be adopted. If once submitted by Congress there is practically no rejection, as if one legislature rejects, it may be brought up at each succeeding legislature until passed.

10. *Refutation.* Much of the time of the supporters of the amendment was taken in refuting the contentions of the opposition. These related chiefly to (1) personal liberty, (2) state rights, (3) possible amendment by minority, (4) revenue, (5) confiscation, and (6) concurrent jurisdiction.

(1) On personal liberty the usual arguments on both sides.

(2) To the state rights contention it was replied (a) that no state is sovereign; each has delegated a part of its powers, and its powers are capable of being further reduced by the action of three-fourths of the states. (b) There is a distinction between the invasion of the rights of the states and the delegation of further power to the national government by the states. It is not robbery of the power of the states when the states themselves delegate the power in the constitutional manner. (c) It is not a question of state rights, but of policy, whether the control of the liquor traffic shall be placed under federal authority, the only power which can efficiently control it.

(3) To the statement that it is possible for a minority to amend the constitution because the thirty-six smaller states contain about 40,000,000 and the twelve larger states 51,000,000 it was shown how it is possible for one-fortieth of the voters to prevent ratification. The majority of the voters in the thirteen states having the smallest vote was 370,000 in 1912. Those desiring to amend have a tremendous handicap and it was shown that practically the approval of the large majority would be required before the constitution was amended. To oppose amendment on the ground of a possible minority would be to oppose any amendment for any purpose.

(4) Revenue. (a) The revenue comes from the consumers, not the traffic. (b) The issue is revenue versus ruined lives. (c) Gladstone was quoted that given a sober people he would find an easy means of raising revenue. (d) The American people do not propose to support the government through the agencies that will finally destroy it.

(5) Confiscation. (a) Court decisions cited, especially *Crowley vs. Christensen*, where the issue was directly raised. (b) Underwood tariff law placing sugar on the free list, destroying property interests of Louisiana sugar growers. They

were advised to turn their soil to growing other crops. Similarly, money invested in the liquor traffic can be converted into better avenues of employment.

(6) To the contention that the concurrent jurisdiction provided in the resolution was not practicable and that there could not be two governments with different penalties occupying the same territory, both of which were supreme, there was cited the case of the old Indian Territory part of Oklahoma, where the national government had established prohibition as an example of concurrent jurisdiction in enforcing Prohibition. Concurrent action regarding the foot and mouth disease was also cited.

II. Argument Against the Amendment

The six arguments above cited, with especial emphasis on revenue, confiscation, and state rights.

7. *Purpose of the constitution.* The organic law is different from statute law. The constitution is a concise general statement of those fundamental political principles which are essential to political liberty and on which the people are in substantial agreement. The provisions of a constitution should have practically unanimous sympathy and support. They should not be placed in the constitution until they are tried out and acquiesced in by practically all the people. The thirteenth amendment was not added until slavery was settled. The fifteenth amendment was not the result of crystallized public opinion, and it is not only evaded but practically ignored.

8. *It is a local question.* If only one state opposed Prohibition it would not be right to inflict the ideas of the rest of the country, so far as this local question is concerned, on that one state.

9. *Imperialism.* Fear of federal officers and federal espionage. It would be terrible to send officers from one state to another. An army of federal officials would be required to enforce it.

10. *Impossible to enforce.* Cannot legislate people good. No magnet so powerful as prohibited temptation. No law is stronger than the sentiment of the jury in the jury box.

Prohibition does not prohibit. It is much easier to enforce the law where the unit is small. It has not been a success in the Prohibition states.

11. *Party interest.* The Democratic party is opposed to Prohibition. Quotations from all the platforms since 1856 cited to show the principles of the party are against Prohibition. Leading Democrats of the present also opposed.

The injection of Prohibition is a conspiracy to break up the party. How could the party carry out its program of tariff reduction if the liquor revenue is done away with?

12. *Prohibition should not be injected into national politics.* It has never been established in any state without becoming the sole issue for many years, and other issues should not be subordinated to the enforcement of a Prohibition amendment which cannot be enforced.

13. *Objection to the draft of the amendment.* It is poorly drafted. Ten different amendments have been submitted. It does not prohibit the manufacture. It legitimizes the manufacture for personal use. The resolution is greatly misunderstood. It does not serve the purpose of the real Prohibitionist who wishes to stop the source of supply by prohibiting the manufacture. Clubs could manufacture on a large scale, and so long as liquor is not sold but furnished to all in return for uniform dues it would be legal. Importation to clubs would also be permitted.

14. *Advocacy of a counter resolution.* Another resolution to prohibit importation and interstate transportation was introduced but failed to receive support, as Congress already has constitutional power to pass such a measure.

AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

I Hate the Liquor Traffic: Speech to Indiana Republican State Convention

J. Frank Hanly, ex-Governor of Indiana

Personally I have seen so much of the evils of the traffic in the last four years, so much of its economic waste, so much of its physical ruin, so much of its mental blight, so much of its tears and heartache, that I have come to regard the business as one that must be held and controlled by strong and effective laws. I bear no malice toward those engaged in the business, but I hate the traffic. I hate its every phase. I hate it for its intolerance. I hate it for its arrogance. I hate it for its hypocrisy. I hate it for its cant and craft and false pretenses. I hate it for its commercialism. I hate it for its greed and avarice. I hate it for its sordid love of gain at any price. I hate it for its domination in politics. I hate it for its corrupting influence in civic affairs. I hate it for its incessant effort to debauch the suffrage of the country; for the cowards it makes of public men. I hate it for its utter disregard of law. I hate it for its ruthless trampling of the solemn compacts of state constitutions. I hate it for the load it straps to labor's back; for the palsied hands it gives to toil; for its wounds to genius; for the tragedies of its might-have-beens. I hate it for the human wrecks it has caused. I hate it for the almshouses it peoples; for the prisons it fills; for the insanity it begets; for its countless graves in potters' fields. I hate it for the mental ruin it imposes upon its victims; for its spiritual blight; for its moral degradation. I hate it for the crimes it has committed. I hate it for the homes it has destroyed. I hate it for the hearts it has broken. I hate it for the malice it has planted in the hearts of men—for its poison, for its bitterness—for the dead sea fruit with which it starves their souls. I hate it for the grief it causes womanhood—the scalding tears, the hopes deferred, the strangled aspirations, its burden of want and care. I hate

it for its heartless cruelty to the aged, the infirm and the helpless, for the shadow it throws upon the lives of children, for its monstrous injustice to blameless little ones. I hate it as virtue hates vice, as truth hates error, as righteousness hates sin, as justice hates wrong, as liberty hates tyranny, as freedom hates oppression.

Commoner. 13:13. July 11, 1913.

Denunciation of Alcohol. Robert G. Ingersoll

I am aware that there is a prejudice against any man who manufactures alcohol. I believe that from the time it issues from the coiled and poisonous worms in the distillery until it empties into the jaws of death, dishonor and crime, it demoralizes everybody that touches it, from its source to where it ends. I do not believe anybody can contemplate the object without being prejudiced against the liquor crime.

All we have to do, gentlemen, is to think of the wrecks on either bank of the stream of death, of the suicides, of the insanity, of the ignorance, of the destitution, of the little children tugging at the faded and withered breast of weeping and despairing mothers, of wives asking for bread, of the men of genius it has wrecked, the men struggling with imaginary serpents, produced by this devilish thing; and when you think of the jails, of the almshouses, of the asylums, of the prisons, of the scaffolds upon either bank, I do not wonder that every thoughtful man is prejudiced against this damned stuff called alcohol. Intemperance cuts down youth in its vigor, manhood in its strength, old age in its weakness. It breaks the father's heart, bereaves the doting mother, extinguishes natural affection, erases conjugal love, blots out filial attachment, blights parental hopes, brings down mourning age in sorrow to the grave. It produces weakness, not life. It makes wives widows; children orphans; fathers fiends, and all of them paupers and beggars. It feeds rheumatism, invites cholera, imports pestilence and embraces consumption. It covers the land with idleness, misery, crime. It fills your jails, supplies your almshouses and demands your asylums. It engenders controversies, fosters quarrels and cherishes riots.

It crowds your penitentiaries and furnishes victims for your

scaffold. It is the life blood of the gambler, the element of the burglar, the prop of the highwayman and support of the midnight incendiary. It countenances the liar, respects the thief, esteems the blasphemer. It violates obligation, reverences fraud and honors infamy. It defames benevolence, hates love, scorns virtue and slanders innocence. It incites the father to butcher his helpless offspring, helps the husband to massacre his wife and the child to grind the patricidal ax. It burns up men, consumes women, detests life, curses God, despises heaven. It suborns witnesses, nurses perjury, defiles the jury box and stains judicial ermine. It degrades the citizen, debases the legislator, dishonors the statesman and disarms the patriot. It brings shame, not honor; misery, not safety; despair, not hope; misery, not happiness, and with the malevolence of a fiend it calmly surveys its frightful desolation and unsatiated havoc. It poisons felicity, kills peace, ruins morals, blights confidence, slays reputations, and wipes out national honor, then curses the world and laughs at its ruin. It does all that and more. It murders the soul. It is the sum of all villainies, the father of all crimes, the mother of all abominations, the devil's best friend and God's worst enemy.

Congressional Record. 52:496-7. December 22, 1914.

The Hobson Amendment. Philip P. Campbell

Already the people have voted for the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors covering 76 per cent of the area of the United States, and 57 per cent of the population.

The government at Washington has for years prohibited the traffic in intoxicating liquors on Indian reservations and at military reservations and posts, and recently at naval stations and in the navy and all United States soldiers' homes.

Twelve years ago the Congress prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Capitol building.

Why should any commodity be under the ban of the law to the extent that this already is in the United States? Evidently because the traffic in intoxicating liquors is a bad thing. These are times of great events. Europe has staged, let us hope, the last act in the tragedy of war. Incident to that great tragedy some important things have been done. The czar of Russia,

at the beginning of the war, deemed it important to his empire and to his people that he should have under his control the best physical and mental fiber that his people possessed, and he issued a ukase prohibiting during the continuance of the war traffic in alcoholic liquors. The czar of Russia took this important action in the face of the fact that the ukase denied to the treasury of the Russian Empire almost a half billion of dollars in revenue on the very threshold of an expensive war. Evidently the czar deemed it more important to his empire and his people that he should prosecute the war with men free from the influence of alcoholic liquors than that his treasury should have a half billion dollars a year for the payment of the expenses of the war.

France very recently has prohibited the sale of absinthe and other alcoholic liquors during the war.

On the 21st day of November, 1910, William, emperor of Germany, in addressing the naval cadets at Flensburg, said in part:

I know very well that pleasure in drinking is an old heritage of the Germans, but we must, by self-discipline, free ourselves from the evil.

In the course of my reign of twenty-two years I have observed that of the great number of crimes which have been appealed to me for decision, nine-tenths were due to alcohol.

Formerly it used to be considered a smart thing for a youth to take and "carry" a great quantity of alcohol. Those ideas belong to the Thirty Years' War, and not longer fit our times.

Naval service demands a height of effort which it is hardly possible to surpass. It is necessary that you be able to endure continual heavy strain without exhaustion in order to be fresh for emergencies. In the next great war . . . nerve power will decide the victory. Now, the nerves are undermined and endangered from youth up by the use of alcohol. Victory will lie with the nation that uses the smallest amount of alcohol. Therefore do not count the use of alcohol one of your privileges.

This is a matter of great importance to our navy and to our people. If you train the troops to renounce alcohol, I shall have sound and sane subjects. The men when they leave the service will carry the thought back to the country. I beg your cooperation in this work.

The emperor evidently believed that it was essential to his people that they abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors so that they could serve their country well in war. If mental and physical fiber of the highest order are important in war, they are alike important in peace, for the duties of peace are no less important than those of war. If the emperor of Germany deems

it detrimental to the naval cadets in the service of his navy to use intoxicating liquors, the American people who look well to the peace of their country may likewise take steps to provide for a sober people to engage in the pursuits of peace.

It is charged against the liquor traffic that it is responsible for 50 per cent of the crime in the United States; the German emperor says nine-tenths of the crime in Germany. That is a more severe charge than is made by the advocates of prohibition in the United States; but the emperor of Germany makes that assertion—that in his empire intoxicating liquor is responsible for nine-tenths of the crime. Anything that is responsible for so great a percentage of crime ought to be prohibited.

It is claimed that in the United States the traffic in intoxicating liquors is, directly or indirectly, responsible for 25 per cent of the poverty, 37 per cent of the pauperism, 45.8 per cent of child misery, 25 per cent of insanity, 19.5 per cent of divorces, and 50 per cent of the crime. These are grave charges, and their truth has not been denied.

Intoxicating liquors cost the American people for the year 1913 almost, if not quite, two and one-half billions of dollars. I ask in all candor what the American people got for that enormous sum of money besides poverty, insanity, crime, and misery for women and children? What good did they get? Whom besides the seller was benefited?

Today every great railway company in the country prohibits the use of intoxicating liquors by its employees. Recently the industrial enterprises of the country are following in the lead of the railways and are prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors by their employees.

A few days ago the Illinois Steel Corporation posted a notice over the gates leading into the shops serving notice that the employees could choose between the job inside and the use of liquor. There is something so deleterious and detrimental and harmful in the use of intoxicating liquors that it is worthy of the serious consideration of the American people. The question is, Is prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale the proper means of saving all the people from the harm that comes from the use of intoxicating liquors by some of the people?

Every other means has been tried. The growth of the use of intoxicating liquors in the United States is alarming. It is said that it fell off in the last year or two. Well, the consump-

tion of almost everything fell off in the last year or two, but the alarming fact is that there has been an enormous increase in the last half century in the United States in the use of intoxicating liquors. Has it benefited the manhood and the womanhood and the childhood of America? If so, in what respect?

Any scourge that caused injury to the livestock belonging to the American people that the liquor traffic caused to the manhood and womanhood and the childhood of America in 1913 would engage the serious attention of this Congress and of the country, and steps would be taken for the elimination of such a scourge at any cost.

The people will have to make some sacrifice in a pecuniary way in order to rid themselves of this traffic. It pays a tax of nearly half a billion dollars, just about the same amount that the czar of Russia sacrificed when he prohibited the traffic in his empire. Are the American people willing to do in peace what the czar of Russia did on the threshold of war? It is now a question for their serious consideration and for yours.

Bliss, W. D. P. *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* p. 967

Prohibition Prohibits. William P. F. Ferguson

Prohibition, the opposite of permission, is not a synonym of annihilation. Those who say, "prohibition does not prohibit"—a self-contradictory proposition—mean that prohibition does not annihilate. This is manifestly true of all kinds of prohibitions in this world, those of the divine government, of family government, and of civil government alike. Prohibition does not annihilate, not even when it forbids murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and Sunday-work.

Prohibition does not define accomplishment, but only the aim and attitude of government toward wrong. License is a purchased truce—sometimes a surrender; prohibition is a declaration of war. License is an edict of toleration—sometimes a certificate of "good moral character"; prohibition is a proclamation of outlawry. The first requisite of law is justice. A law that sanctions wrong is not law at all, but legislative crime. It is not "public sentiment," but public conscience, out of which law should be quarried. Law is an educator. Dueling, and smuggling, and liquor selling were once in the "best society."

Gradually the law has made them disreputable. Rum-selling under Prohibition is a sneaking fugitive, like counterfeiting—not dead, but disgraced, and so shorn of power.

In Maine children grow up without ever seeing a drunken man. In most parts of Kansas and in Iowa, while the Prohibition law was in force, the law against the saloon is as effective as the law against the brothel or the burglar. To this fact testify governors, senators, congressmen, pastors, physicians, manufacturers—against whose evidence scarcely a witness can be brought in rebuttal except “anonymous.” The liquor-dealers’ statement that more liquor is consumed under Prohibition than without it is canceled by actions that speak louder than words, by frantic efforts, at great cost, to defeat Prohibition wherever it is proposed.

Congressional Record. 52:602-9. December 22, 1914

The Truth About Alcohol. Richmond P. Hobson

These convictions are permanent, because they are founded on questions of fact and not of opinion. They revolve about the nature of alcohol, a chemical compound whose properties have been definitely ascertained at the hands of science. Whether members of this House are “wet” or “dry,” all should acquaint themselves with the recent findings of science as to what alcohol really is, and the effect it really has upon the human organisms, and through the human organisms the political and social organisms. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the whole question hinges upon the truth about alcohol.

The Good Book tells us, “And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.”

I assume, Mr. Speaker, that every member in this House will be loyal to the truth when in his own reason and in his own conscience he has found it. Loyalty to the truth is really the true test of a man, whether he is in the image of his Maker and is worthy of that dignity that attaches to human life above the life of the brute living on the plane of self-preservation.

I realize full well, Mr. Speaker, how with the deceptive properties of alcohol and the powerful financial interests connected with it the average man of today has been molded in an atmosphere of error as to its real nature. The educational

effects of his observation as to the harmful effects of drunkenness have been partly dissipated by the constant reiteration that the harm comes from the abuse and not the temperate use, the results of which do not appear on the surface. As a matter of fact the effect of the moderate use of alcoholic beverages spread over the whole nation has done and is doing vastly more harm than all the drunkenness and intemperance combined.

The substance about which this whole question revolves is a chemical compound of the group of the oxide derivatives of the hydrocarbons, its formula being $C_2H_5(OH)$, 2 atoms of carbon, 6 of hydrogen, and 1 of oxygen. Among the other members of this group may be mentioned carbolic acid, chloral hydrate—popularly called chloral—morphine, and strychnine. Alcohol is produced by the process of fermentation, in which process ferment germs devour glucose in solution derived from grain, grapes, and other substances, and in their life processes they throw off waste products like other living organisms. One of the waste products is the gas that causes bubbling. The other waste product is the liquid alcohol. Alcohol is then the toxin, the loathsome excretion of a living organism. It comes under the general law governing toxins, namely, the toxin of one form of life is a poison to the form of life that produced it and a poison to every other form of life of a higher order. The ferment germs are single-cell germs—the lowest form of life known—consequently their toxin, alcohol, is a poison to all forms of life, whether plants, animals, or men—a poison to the elemental protoplasm out of which all forms of life are constructed. The first scientific finding about alcohol is that “alcohol is a protoplasmic poison.” An organic substance placed in alcohol is preserved indefinitely, because no living thing—neither germs of decomposition nor the ferment germs themselves—can penetrate the alcohol.

We must therefore surrender all our preconceived ideas about the supposed food value and benefits of alcohol, even in the smallest quantities. As an illustration, one mug of mild beer—supposed to be beneficial and helpful—will in thirty minutes lower the efficiency of the average soldier 36 per cent in aiming his rifle.

Alcohol has the property of chloroform and ether of penetrating actually into the nerve fibers themselves, putting the tissues under an anesthetic which prevents pain at first, but

when the anesthetic effect is over discomfort follows throughout the tissues of the whole body, particularly the nervous system, which causes a craving for relief by recourse to the very substance that produced the disturbance. This craving grows directly with the amount and regularity of the drinking.

The poisoning attack of alcohol is specially severe in the cortex cerebrum—the top part of the brain—where resides the center of inhibition, or of will power, causing partial paralysis, which liberates lower activities otherwise held in control, causing a man to be more of a brute, but to imagine that he has been stimulated, when he is really partially paralyzed. This center of inhibition is the seat of the will power, which of necessity declines a little in strength every time partial paralysis takes place.

Thus a man is little less of a man after each drink he takes. In this way continued drinking causes a progressive weakening of the will and a progressive growing of the craving, so that after a time, if persisted in, there must come a point where the will power cannot control the craving and the victim is in the grip of the habit.

When the drinking begins young the power of the habit becomes overwhelming, and the victim might as well have shackles. It is estimated that there are 5,000,000 heavy drinkers and drunkards in America, and these men might as well have a ball and chain on their ankles, for they are more abject slaves than those black men who were driven by slave drivers.

It is vain for us to think that slavery has been abolished. There are nearly twice as many slaves, largely white men, today than there were black men slaves in America at any one time.

These victims are driven imperatively to procure their liquor, no matter at what cost. A few thousand brewers and distillers making up the organizations composing the great liquor trust, have a monopoly of the supply, and they therefore own these 5,000,000 slaves and through them they are able to collect \$2,500,000,000 cash from the American people every year.

In this way nearly two-thirds of all the money in circulation in America in the course of a year passes into the hands of the liquor trust.

Very little of the money paid for liquor remains in circulation locally, because liquor employs so few men for the capital invested and pays them such poor wages.

Labor unions ought to realize that liquor is their deadliest enemy. It lowers the standard of character and the standard of living of labor. It dissipates the earnings of labor, interferes with savings, and increases the dependence of labor upon the will of capital. It breeds the violence and disorder that often bring labor's cause into disrepute and give the victory to their opponents. In an industrial struggle, as in any other struggle, if both opponents are sober, there is good chance for arbitration. If one side is debauched by liquor, it will lose. The road to solve the problems between capital and labor is to make the whole country dry as the mining regions of Colorado were made dry in the strike. If the capital now invested in liquor were put to useful channels it would employ more than a million and a half additional men, wage-earners, and largely solve the problem of the unemployed. This tremendous increase in the demand for labor would cause a general rise in wages and a corresponding rise in the standard of living.

Railroads, armies, manufacturing plants, and other employers of men are rapidly coming to realize the heavy toll of inefficiency and loss of productiveness on the part of men in their employ even from moderate drinking. Scientific management of modern industry in every branch is rapidly coming to demand total abstinence.

Investigations in connection with employers' liability for accident and sickness are rapidly disclosing the responsibility of liquor for the bulk of the accidents and the sickness in mines, mills, and shops and other operations.

My figures indicate a general loss of efficiency of about 21½ per cent for the American producer, on the average. This entails an economic loss of over \$8,000,000,000 by the nation. As I shall point out in a few moments, liquor causes the premature death of about 700,000 American citizens every year. This entails an economic loss of about five billions.

I call attention of members to the charts that show that liquor is causing the bulk of the crime, pauperism, and insanity and, leaving the support of these upon the public, causes a burden in direct taxation upon the American people of nearly two billions. Taking away from our people, as pointed out above, two and one-half billions, the sum total of the economic burden laid upon the shoulders of the nation approximates the total sum of about \$16,000,000,000. We call the federal govern-

ment extravagant when it lays a burden of one billion for purposes of uplift and we stand by complacently as liquor places a burden of sixteen billions for purposes of degeneracy and destruction, and there are some so deluded as to imagine that the government should encourage liquor because of the paltry two hundred and odd millions of revenue. Let no enlightened member talk about the need of liquor revenues. I say to him what Mr. Gladstone said to the deputation of brewers who made the same claim:

Give me a sober people who do not waste their substance on strong drink and I will find ready means of raising the necessary revenues for their government.

The liquor trust through its vast hordes of money corrupts our elections, not only to control the results in wet and dry campaigns, but the election of officers and political parties subservient to liquor interests. In many wet and dry campaigns bankers have been put under duress and required to notify farmers, merchants, and other business men that they would call in their loans if the elections went dry.

The growing degenerate vote directly due to liquor is now menacing not only the elections in our great cities, but in the states that have large cities, and even in the nation itself. Liquor not only creates this degenerate vote, but it also keeps a corruption fund available to purchase that vote, and does not hesitate to spend vast sums for this purpose. In this way it stands with club in hand over politicians and political parties.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the menace of this great blighting influence in our political life, by which our elections cannot be normal and political forces cannot follow in their normal course without cross currents and counter currents. It is vain to hope for honest elections until the country is dry.

The liberties and institutions of a free people must depend for their perpetuity upon the average standard of character of the electorate. In America where we have manhood suffrage the degeneracy produced, particularly in big cities, is undermining the foundations of our institutions.

It is this same lowering of the average standard of character of the citizenship in the past that entailed the overthrow of the liberties of Greece and Rome and other republics. It seems rather ironical for liquor men to call upon the name of liberty.

Through control of political parties and politicians and from

the supply of needed revenues liquor gets a strangle hold upon the government, and for ages governments have largely looked to liquor to supply revenues and give support for continuance in power.

It is a clear sign of the times to note the general change of attitude of the governments of Europe toward liquor. All governments should now be in full possession of the findings of science as to the real nature of alcohol, consequently when the general war broke out in Europe the governments, though in great need of revenues, promptly took advantage of the powers conferred under martial law to strike liquor a deadly blow.

Shortly after the promulgation of martial law the Russian government, in spite of the loss of hundreds of millions in revenue, issued a proclamation to compel prohibition of the national drink—vodka. This order has been made permanent and, broadly speaking, the Russian empire is to remain dry forever.

The French government likewise issued a proclamation of prohibition of the manufacture and sale of absinthe, and has since extended this to include other distilled liquors.

After the proclamation of martial law the German government closed down the breweries throughout the empire and has promulgated drastic measures for prohibition in the war zone of the east. When a child is born in Germany the government sends a card to the mother warning against the deadly nature of alcohol. When a child enters public school in Berlin the Prussian government sends an anti-alcohol card to the father and mother by the child.

It seems too bad that the Germans who have cast their lot in America should not have caught the progressive spirit of the fatherland. Eight hundred German scientists, 116 of them professors in German universities, have made a unanimous report on the nature of beverage alcohol, recommending its complete elimination. A German staff physician of the German army has announced that "we should not discuss moderation with a man. The thing has long since been settled by science. The use of narcotic poisons is simply indecent and criminal."

It should be a source of humiliation to well-informed Americans that our government shows no indications of change of attitude toward liquor. Our need for revenue is much less than that of the nations at war, and yet in sections 1 and 2 of

the revenue bill recently passed we turned to liquor for nearly one-half the total amount, strengthening the hold of liquor upon the finances of the government. Liquor has the same strangle hold upon the throat of our government today that slavery had before 1860. Congress has not permitted the cotton planter to deposit his cotton in bond, but it has done everything for the distiller so he can place his liquor in bond and on these warrants get financial advances.

The first finding of science that alcohol is a protoplasmic poison and the second finding that it is an insidious, habit-forming drug, though of great importance, are as unimportant when compared with the third finding, that alcohol degenerates the character of men and tears down their spiritual nature. Like the other members of the group of oxide derivatives of hydrocarbons, alcohol is not only a general poison, but it has a chemical affinity or deadly appetite for certain particular tissues. Strychnine tears down the spinal cord. Alcohol tears down the top part of the brain in a man, attacks certain tissues in an animal, certain cells in a flower. It has been established that whatever the line of a creature's evolution alcohol will attack that line. Every type and every species is evolving in building from generation to generation along some particular line. Man is evolving in the top part of the brain, the seat of the will power, the seat of the moral senses, and of the spiritual nature, the recognition of right and wrong, the consciousness of God and of duty and of brotherly love and of self-sacrifice.

All life in the universe is founded upon the principle of evolution. Alcohol directly reverses that principle. Man has risen from the savage up through successive steps to the level of the semi-savage, the semi-civilized, and the highly civilized.

Liquor promptly degenerates the red man, throws him back into savagery. It will promptly put a tribe on the warpath.

Liquor will actually make a brute out of a negro, causing him to commit unnatural crimes.

The effect is the same on the white man, though the white man being further evolved it takes longer time to reduce him to the same level. Starting young, however, it does not take a very long time to speedily cause a man in the forefront of civilization to pass through the successive stages and become semi-civilized, semi-savage, savage, and, at last, below the brute.

The spiritual nature of man gives dignity to his life above

the life of the brute. It is this spiritual nature of man that makes him in the image of his Maker, so that the Bible referred to man as being a little lower than the angels. It is a tragedy to blight the physical life. No measure can be made of blighting the spiritual life.

Nature does not tolerate reversing its evolutionary principle, and proceeds automatically to exterminate any creature, any animal, any race, any species that degenerates. Nature adopts two methods of extermination—one to shorten the life, the other to blight the offspring.

Alcohol, even in small quantities, attacks all the vital organs and the nervous system, the tissues, and the blood. A large percentage of premature deaths arising from disease are due to this cause. The attack on the blood lowers the efficiency of the white blood corpuscles to destroy the disease germs, exposing the drinker far more than the abstainer to the ravages of consumption, pneumonia, typhoid, and other germ diseases. The records of insurance companies show that in the periods from twenty-five to forty-five the mortality of total abstainers is only a fraction of that of the average. This means that the bulk of deaths in young manhood are due to alcohol. It means that people ought not to die in their prime any more than animals.

The records of the insurance companies show that a man starting at the age of 20 as a total abstainer lives to the average age of 65, whereas starting at the age of 20 as a moderate drinker he dies at 51, losing over fourteen years, or a cutting down of nearly one-third of his days.

Starting at the age of twenty as a heavy drinker a man dies at thirty-five, a sheer loss of two-thirds of the span of his whole life.

We are dying at the rate of 1,000 deaths per 61,000 of the population. Total abstainers in our midst are dying at the rate of 560 per 61,000 of the population, though living under the same conditions. The latter figures are those applied to adult males as shown by the insurance companies' figures. Investigations show that the shortening of life of the offspring is far greater and more serious than that of the parent, as I will point out later, and since the adult males are the fathers of the young of both sexes it is on the side of conservatism to apply the proportion to the whole population, so that we can conservatively say that 440 additional deaths are caused every year per 61,000

of the population—deaths that are premature and unnecessary. This means that alcohol actually kills fully 700,000 American citizens every year.

When these figures were first printed they were subject to some ridicule and to many attempts to disprove them. Several German scientists have employed the same methods of reasoning, and the liquor interests of the continent have a standing offer of 6,000 marks to any scientist that can disprove the figures of the great insurance companies which are the foundation of this awful conclusion.

When the great Titanic sank in mid-ocean with her precious cargo and shocked the whole world, she carried down less than 1,600 souls. Alcohol carries down to a premature grave every day more than 2,000 American souls.

Mr. Gladstone in the maturity of his philosophy announced that "strong drink is more destructive than the historic scourges of war, pestilence, and famine combined." The old philosopher was eminently correct. Many battles have been fought in history for which there is no authentic report of the casualty, but of those of which there are records, from the Macedonian war, 300 B.C., down to and including the Russo-Japanese war, the sum total foots up to 2,800,000 killed and wounded, which, being apportioned, would make a little more than 2,100,000 wounded and a little less than 700,000 killed. Bearing in mind the qualifying circumstances, it can be generally said, therefore, that alcohol brings to a premature grave more Americans in one year than all the wars of the world, as recorded, have killed on the field of battle in 2,300 years.

When the great war in Europe is over it will be found that the sum total killed on the field of battle for all nations will average less than 1,500 a day. Alcohol averages 2,000 Americans a day. Europe is really in the eyes of nature better off today in the midst of her great tragedy than she has been for centuries, because Europe is almost dry. The convention of life insurance presidents recently announced that Russia is saving fully 50,000 lives of her adult males per year from her recent prohibition order, which in a brief period of time will far more than make up for the soldiers killed in battle. No great nation was ever overthrown in war until after its vitality had been undermined by degeneracy arising from alcoholic dissipation.

When a soldier falls on the field of battle we all realize the

tragedy, but in reality it is only his physical life that has been snuffed out. The bullet that pierced the brave soldier's heart never touched his character. When his soul rose to appear before its Maker it had no wound. But when the victim is stretched out in premature death from alcohol not only are his heart and other organs and tissues of his body wounded but the ghastly wound is the rent torn in his soul.

Civilized nations forbid in warfare the use of flat-nosed bullets that spatter in the flesh and bone. Alcohol uses dum-dums that not only spatter in the flesh and bone but crash into the soul.

I realize full well how cruel war is, having had friends of mine among Spanish officers, men who had been kind to me in prison, who had treated me like a brother, mortally wounded, dying in agony. On board the Spanish wrecks shortly after the battle of Santiago I saw the dead men about the decks where they had fallen at their posts of duty. I realized they were brave men and good men, and my soul cried out at the cruelty of their being killed at our hands. I realized not only the cruelty but also the calamity of war, particularly when it overtakes a nation unprepared as our nation is; but if I had to choose one or the other of these two destructive agents, alcohol or war, I would rather see America, sober, stand alone and face the combined world; I would rather see my country, as defenseless as I know she is, face all the great armies of the world rather than to see this great internal destroyer continue unchecked his deadly ravages throughout our land.

Alcohol makes a deadly attack upon the organ of reproduction in both male and female, and upon the nervous system of the little life before birth in the embryonic period. One-half of 1 per cent of alcohol in solution, such as a future mother might easily have in her circulation in attending a banquet or fashionable dinner, drinking only wine or beer, will, oft repeated, kill the little life and endanger the life and health of the mother.

If both parents are moderate drinkers, drinking but one glass of wine or beer per day at one meal, the effect will more than quadruple the chances of miscarriage of the mother, increasing over 400 per cent the dangers and sufferings in maternity, and will nearly double the percentage of their children that will die the first year in infancy. The children of drinking parents on the whole die off four to fivefold more rapidly than the children of abstaining parents.

This means that scores and scores of thousands of little children die every year from cruel wounds inflicted upon their little lives before they were born at the hands of their parents who did not know.

If both parents are alcoholic one child in five of those that do survive will become insane before it is grown. One child in seven will be born deformed. One child in three will become epileptic, hysterical, or feeble-minded. Only one child in six will be normal; five out of six will be blighted.

On the other hand, if both parents are total abstainers, there will be no more dangers and suffering in maternity than in the case of other species; and no matter how hard the lot in life of the parents may be, nine out of ten of their children will be absolutely normal. These children normally born will be easy to bring up, and, kept safe from degeneracy in their youth, will tend to rise one degree higher and nobler in character than their parents, following the line of the species evolution. If a family or a nation is sober, nature in its normal course will cause them to rise to a higher civilization. If a family or nation, on the other hand, is debauched by liquor, it must decline and ultimately perish.

Rome during long centuries was frugal and abstemious, practicing absolute Prohibition within its walls, and during this period we see the wonderful rise of the Roman Empire. When the Romans gathered into their great city and the youth gave themselves over to dissipation, we see the decline and finally the fall of that great empire. Similarly the other nations and empires of the past have risen only to fall.

We are all familiar with thoroughbred races of horses, dogs, and so forth, but who ever heard of a thoroughbred race of men? We know that great aggregates of plants and animals continue to rise, but a great nation is only born to die. Heretofore a nation has only been able to rise to a certain level, when, gathering in great cities, liquor has overtaken the youth and a great millstone has settled about its neck. Back it sank, never to rise again. We stand in the presence of this most startling discovery of science—that alcohol has absolutely disrupted the orderly evolution of the great human species.

Science has thus demonstrated that alcohol is a protoplasmic poison, poisoning all living things; that alcohol is a habit-forming drug that shackles millions of our citizens and maintains slavery in our midst; that it lowers in a fearful way the

standard of efficiency of the nation, reducing enormously the national wealth, entailing startling burdens of taxation, encumbering the public with the care of crime, pauperism, and insanity; that it corrupts politics and public servants, corrupts the government, corrupts the public morals, lowers terrifically the average standard of character of the citizenship, and undermines the liberties and institutions of the nation; that it undermines and blights the home and the family, checks education, attacks the young when they are entitled to protection, undermines the public health, slaughtering, killing, and wounding our citizens many fold times more than war, pestilence, and famine combined; that it blights the progeny of the nation, flooding the land with a horde of degenerates; that it strikes deadly blows at the life of the nation itself and at the very life of the race, reversing the great evolutionary principles of nature and the purposes of the Almighty.

There can be but one verdict, and that is this great destroyer must be destroyed. The time is ripe for fulfilment. The present generation, the generation to which we belong, must cut this millstone of degeneracy from the neck of humanity.

What is the remedy for this great organic disease that is nation-wide and world-wide in its blight? Evidently the treatment must itself be organic and must itself be nation-wide and world-wide.

We can look to nature and find out in what organic treatment consists, for instance, in diseases of the body physical. In the case of a cure for such a disease the cure consists not in the curing of the old disease tissues, but in the growth of young tissue, and the very essence of the cure is to insure that the disease or contagion shall not extend to the young tissue, giving nature an opportunity to grow the cure.

The cure of the old drinkers is not nature's cure for such an organic disease. It is not possible by enactment of a law to make old drinkers stop drinking, to change the deep-seated habits of a lifetime. The amendment proposed in this resolution does not undertake to coerce old drinkers or to regulate the use of liquor by the individual.

The cure for this disease lies in the stopping of the debauching of the young. Our generation must establish such conditions that hereafter the young will grow up sober. This proposed amendment is scientifically drawn to attain this end.

Upon this all must agree. A man may drink himself, but if he is a good man he would love to see such conditions established that the young hereafter would grow up sober.

I call the attention of members to the chart showing that 68 per cent of all the drunkards had their habits contracted before they were 21, 30 per cent before they were 16, and 7 per cent before they were 12. Less than 2 per cent of men begin to drink after they are grown and settled down. Some vast agent in our midst is systematically teaching the boys to drink and debauching the youth. Who is it that carries on this sinful business? Certainly it is not the drinkers. A man may drink, but unless he is a hopeless degenerate he would not teach boys to drink. I have known many drinkers, but I have never yet known one who made a habit of teaching boys to drink. This sinister agent is the liquor trust of America.

Tens of thousands of paid agents all over the land are carrying out this devilish work. The most deadly work thus far has been in the cities where it is hard for parents to keep track of their boys, but it extends to towns and is now being systematically extended to country settlements. The usual method in cities is to operate where boys come together, sometimes having the boys' rendezvous in saloons but more frequently in pool rooms and other places of amusement, sometimes on vacant lots. The boot-legger or licensed agent of the liquor trust arranges to have the boys drink before breaking up to be sociable or as a sign of manliness. To better influence the young boy who is just beginning a special drink is prepared called "Cincinnati," which is sweetened to appeal to the boy's taste. In some cases where it is difficult to reach the boys through agents, as for instance in the state of Oklahoma, the liquor trust has written to them giving them numbers so that without the knowledge of their parents, by mail or express, they can ship them liquor free.

In order to effectively and scientifically solve this question we must discover and must remove the motive. What is the motive of the liquor trust in this vast debauching of the youth? Some have assumed that the motive is to harm the boys, blighting the homes, and degenerating society in general. On this assumption many have set about heaping abuse upon the agents of the great liquor trust. For my part I realize this is not the motive, that most of these agents are in the business to make a living, and that the business has come down in natural courses

from the past, an occupation for which the whole of society stands responsible. Recognizing this, I have abused none; I have no bitterness; I have no desire to harm any man's business.

Mr. John McCullough, president of the Green River Distilling Co., of Owensboro, Ky., one of the big liquor men of the country, has written to the big men in the business, suggesting that the wise thing to do would be to stop fighting and ask for terms on the basis of being allowed ten years in which to adjust their business and for the government to set aside 10 per cent of the revenue collected from the business every year, and at the end of the ten years for this fund to be used to compensate those engaged in the business when the business is closed. I have no authority to speak for others, but I do not hesitate to say that if such a course were pursued by the liquor trust it would certainly have my sympathetic consideration for statutory adjustment. The South could have received hundreds of millions of dollars for its slaves without war, but when it chose war it could not come back after war and hope to receive a dollar in compensation. The conditions are analogous for the liquor traffic, though liquor has no real legal vested rights, as held by slavery. If liquor continues its barbaric warfare to the bitter end, it need not come asking for compensation.

The real motive in teaching the boys to drink is to develop future customers. With a reasonably small outlay the liquor trust can develop this appetite in the young and when the young grow up with an appetite then as men they buy the liquor, over the supply of which the liquor trust has a monopoly. The large profits in the sale of their goods to customers thus developed is the real motive of the great liquor trust in systematically debauching the youth of the nation.

The real scientific way to cure this evil therefore is to remove the motive—the profits in the sale of the goods. Clearly, this cannot be done by undertaking to coerce those who drink, but it can be done by prohibiting the sale and everything that relates to the sale, particularly to the manufacture for sale. This can be done the more readily as barter and sale for profit have been subject to public control since the earliest days.

When the motive is removed and the liquor interests can no longer derive profits from the sale, then the great liquor trust of necessity will disintegrate. The debauching of the young will thus end and the young generation will grow up sober.

In this way no effort is made to coerce any citizen. Some

old drinkers desiring to stop will take advantage of the changed environment and stop, and other old drinkers desiring to do so will continue drinking until they die, subject to local or state regulation or control; but when they die no new drinkers will take their place and the next generation will be sober. This method thus takes no chance of invading the sanctity of the home or the liberties of the individual. Some men may feel that they have an inherent right to drink liquor, but no man will feel that he has a right to sell liquor. The proposed amendment does not touch the question of the use of liquor, and partakes in no manner of the nature of a sumptuary measure.

Twelve decisions of the United States Supreme Court have declared that no citizen has an inherent right to sell liquor. What this amendment does is to declare that the liquor trust shall not for petty lucre continue to debauch the young; that neither federal government, nor state, nor any citizens shall fatten upon the weaknesses and miseries of the people.

In carrying out the prohibition of the sale, manufacture for sale, and all that relates to sale, the next question that arises is whether the scope of the prohibition should be limited to small units, like the town and the county, or should extend to the large units making it state-wide and nation-wide. It is good to have a town dry rather than wet. It is better to have a county dry rather than wet; but if prohibition is by the small unit, then wet towns and wet counties will be found near by, and the virus there generated will pass over continuously and reinfect the dry town and the dry county. It is a good thing to cut out one root of a cancer, it is a better thing to cut out another root, but as long as a single root remains it will generate the virus and inject it into the circulation and reinfect the whole system. As long as there is one state in the Union that is wet it will be the base of operations and source of supply for the national liquor trust, from which, through interstate commerce, to infect all the other states. Poison generated in any part of the body, projected into the circulation, will reach all parts of the body, and no part can protect itself. The states cannot protect themselves against interstate commerce, nor can Congress delegate to the states this power. The liquor traffic is the most interstate of all business. Their organization is a national organization. It is dealt with by the national government.

Under our present system limiting Prohibition to small units

the great liquor trust has trampled upon the rights of states, of counties, and of towns, and has taken pride in proclaiming that "prohibition does not prohibit."

This pose of the liquor outlaw that he is above the operations of local law is a complete and conclusive demonstration of the need of a national law. There can be no cure of a cancer until all the roots have been cut out, until no centers of contagion are left to reinfect. Local option in various forms, and even state-wide Prohibition, though valuable and useful, have not proved adequate. Our whole experience shows that *Prohibition must be national*.

If Congress, in the exercise of the taxing power, should undertake to establish Prohibition by statute, the great liquor trust would not permanently disintegrate, because what any one Congress can do another Congress can undo. Wet and dry elections would be continually following each other all the time, and the country would be wet part of the time and dry part of the time, and the youth would not have time to grow up sober—the remedy would only be superficial.

To cure this organic disease we must have recourse to the organic law. The people themselves must act upon this question. A generation must be prevailed upon to place Prohibition in their own constitutional law, and such a generation could be counted upon to keep it in the constitution during its lifetime. The liquor trust of necessity would disintegrate. The youth would grow up sober. The final, scientific conclusion is that we must have constitutional Prohibition, prohibiting only the sale, the manufacture for sale, and everything that pertains to the sale, and invoke the power of both federal and state governments for enforcement. The resolution is drawn to fill these requirements.

American Issue, Ohio Edition, 23:2. June 25, 1915

Labor Would Gain by Prohibition. Irving Fisher

The workman should not only not be injured by Prohibition, but he would be benefited by the wiping away of all liquor industries. He would be benefited:

First, by saving him from the physiological poison of alcohol, thus increasing his working (and therefore producing and earning) capacity.

Second, it would lengthen life and increase the working period of life for workmen.

Third, it would save for productive and useful ends the vast amount of grapes and grain which are now worse than wasted.

Fourth, it would enable the workmen now engaged in these lines to turn their attention to producing in other more useful and more beneficial directions. At present the men who work in connection with the liquor industries waste their work socially because they render no equivalent to society, but on the contrary, injure society instead.

But even the dislocation which would be caused by sweeping away the production of alcohol, is, I believe, much less than the working men imagine, for many of the industries associated with the production of alcohol could be continued without much jar by adapting them to somewhat related lines. One whisky manufacturer, for example, has already put an anchor to windward by producing grape juice, I believe. There are similar examples from other industries. Factories have changed from the manufacture of bicycles to the manufacture of typewriters or automobiles or firearms.

Of course, it would be idle, as well as wrong to attempt to convince all workmen directly associated with the production of alcohol that they personally would gain by abolishing the industry. But it ought to be possible to convince workmen as a whole where their interests lie. Personally, I have no doubt as far as labor as a whole is concerned, that those who would be even temporarily injured, would be the negligible percentage, while those who would be permanently injured would be a negligible fraction of 1 per cent. The other 99 per cent would be greatly benefited.

Prohibition in Kansas. Statement Issued by Gov. Arthur Capper. March 25, 1915

The National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association is circulating much literature throughout the country, which is so distinctly misleading and harmful that prompt and forceful repudiation of its contents is imperative.

The liquor interests do not fight fairly; they resort to falsehood and innuendo and subterfuge. What else is left to them? Can they defend the gambling, the resorts they own and use to

retail their poison? There is one thing, and one alone, that the liquor interests can do, and that is to wade into the statistical masses of the census, trusting to the confusing power of twisted figures to make black appear white in the eyes of the average man.

The liquor interests have declared, in effect, that the legislature of Kansas has lied; that more than 700 editors of Kansas have lied; that every political party of Kansas has lied; that every minister and school teacher of Kansas has lied; that the president of the Kansas State Retailers' Association has lied; that the president of the State Bankers' Association and 166 bankers of Kansas have lied; that the president of the State Medical Society has lied; that the president of the commercial clubs of Kansas has lied; that the governor of the state of Kansas and many state officials have lied; that 457,000 people who piled a majority on the wet candidate, Mr. Billard, in the last election, and thereby endorsed Prohibition, have lied.

Cabell's "Facts about Kansas"

Just at present the wholesale liquor dealers are circulating an article by Royal E. Cabell on "Facts about Prohibition in Kansas." Mr. Cabell says that Kansas's death rate figures are unreliable, for "Kansas is not in the registration area." So he takes the death rate of Kansas cities and compares them with the state death rate of license states, and makes no explanation that the rate in the latter case is dragged down by rural statistics. Since Mr. Cabell first wrote his article, Kansas has been admitted to the registration area, but the liquor people are still industriously circulating the statement—"Kansas figures are not accepted by the United States Government."

Cabell infers that Kansas has a rate of death by violence, excluding suicide, of 123. In 1912, according to Dr. J. S. Crumbine, secretary of the board of health, the rate of violent deaths in Kansas was 60.8, including both accidents and homicides. Mr. Cabell has taken the figures for leading cities and compared them with the figures covering both cities and rural districts in license states. He infers that the rate of suicide in Kansas is 22 to the 100,000. According to the figures of Dr. Crumbine, the rate of suicide in Kansas in 1912 was 12.2.

If, in this literature, issued by the liquor men, they want to set forth facts on which intelligent opinion may be formed, why

does it not say in this connection that the death rate in Kansas in connection with all of those causes of death in which alcohol prominently figures is, in nearly every case, below that of nearby states and is in every single case below that of the registration area? Why, for instance, would it not illuminate the problem to say that while the death rate in the registration area from cirrhosis of the liver was 14, in Kansas in 1912 it was only 7? Why not say that while the death rate from violent deaths in the registration area was 91.2, in Kansas it was 60.8? It might even be well to bring out the fact that while the death rate from homicide in the registration area was 6.6, the homicide rate in Kansas in 1912 was 4.8. It undoubtedly would be instructive to say that the death rate in the registration area from suicide was 16.2, and in Kansas in 1912 was 12.2. The death rate from Bright's disease in the registration area was 87.5, and in Kansas only 55.4; for pneumonia in the registration area 89.2, and in Kansas in 1912 it was 45.6.

Mr. Cabell does not say these things. They contain "the whole truth," and the whole truth would be fatal to Mr. Cabell's cause.

Divorce

Mr. Cabell figures that Kansas has a divorce rate of 286, but the latest available reports from the United States Government do not agree with him. For the five years, 1898 to 1902 inclusive, the rate of divorce in Kansas, according to the United States Government, was 109 (not 286). Divorce statistics are so chaotic and are affected by such varying conditions that it is not possible to make a reasonable comparison, but when Mr. Cabell makes an error of 177 to the 100,000, considerably more than doubling the Kansas rate for purposes of his propaganda, when he carefully refrains from saying that the divorce rate in the Prohibition state of North Dakota is only 88; that in Arizona (then license) it was 120; in Arkansas (then license) 136; in Colorado (then license) 158; in Idaho (then license) 120; in Indiana 142; in Montana 167; in Oregon (then license) 134; in Oklahoma (then license) 129; in Wyoming 118; in Texas 131; in Washington (then license) 184—when he ignores these significant facts and continues his false figures, there is no reason why he should receive consideration.

Mr. Cabell says that fifteen license states have a rate of

divorce to wives because of husbands' drunkenness lower than the rate in Kansas. But he carefully kicks sand over the important fact that drunkenness is not a cause for divorce in Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina and Texas. Even then, what is the sense in saying that fifteen license states have a lower rate of divorce for drunkenness than Kansas? It simply makes obvious the fact that thirty-two states have a higher rate.

In regard to this divorce question, something further should be said. Divorce is not common among foreign-born citizens or among the population of our great industrial centers. Some women accept their daily beating uncomplainingly. In states where the population is largely native American, where women demand consideration on the part of their husbands, a rough tongue-lashing is very apt to result in a divorce.

Prisons

It is stated in this literature that Kansas has a higher life prisoner rate than twenty-one other states. But it omits the important fact that there is no capital punishment in Kansas. Kansas imprisons its murderers for life; Illinois punishes them with death. The thing is so obvious as to be ridiculous.

We suggest to Mr. Cabell and his employers that they present to the people of the United States these facts:

The prison rate in 1910 for the entire United States was 121.4; in Kansas it was 91.1; in North Dakota, another Prohibition state, it was 63. In the same year the rate of *commitments* to prison in the United States was 520, and in Kansas it was only 200, while the average rate of the license states in the west north central division, in which Kansas is located, was 465. The following table, showing the rate of commitments to prison in the whole United States, in the division of states in which Kansas is located, and in all the states of that division, brings out the truth in startling fashion:

United States	520
Minnesota	499
Missouri	481
South Dakota	273
Kansas	200
West North Central (average of license states)	465
Iowa (then license)	585

North Dakota	163
Nebraska	482
Colorado (then license)	610

Delinquent Juveniles

In regard to the question of juvenile delinquency Mr. Cabell says that nineteen states had a lower rate than had Kansas. The fact is that some of these states had no juvenile delinquents at all, because they had no such system. Consequently, they show up much better than Kansas.

It also affects the situation that some states that have juvenile delinquency systems have them in an undeveloped state; some states have an extensive parole system; some states spank the children for offenses that put them in charge in other states. Why should not Mr. Cabell say that North Dakota, a Prohibition state, has the lowest juvenile delinquency rate in the west central division of states? Why should he not say, for instance, that Nebraska, which he compares with Kansas, had a percentage of discharge and parole of 51 as compared with a percentage of 39 in Kansas? These are some of the things that it is necessary for Mr. Cabell and the wholesale liquor dealers to avoid as carefully as a British grainship avoids the glint of a periscope.

Pauperism

We are told that fourteen states had a lower pauper rate than Kansas. The sentence is not complete or it would read, "and thirty-three have a higher pauper rate than Kansas." Mr. Cabell says that Nebraska has only a slightly higher rate of pauperism than Kansas, but he does not bring out the fact that Nebraska had poorhouses in only 51 out of 92 counties, and that Kansas had poorhouses in 74 out of 105 counties.

A complete study of the question of pauperism furnishes one of the most amazing arguments for Prohibition. For instance, if we take all the Prohibition states and all the license states (and they are both so well scattered as to make a comparison fair), we find that on the basis of the census of 1910 the paupers in the United States would number:

At rate for the continental United States	88,319
If the rate in the license states prevailed thruout the country	108,808
If the rate in the Prohibition states prevailed thruout the country	27,309
If the Kansas rate had prevailed thruout the country	22,819

The United States as a whole, according to the figures of the census of 1910, had a poorhouse *commitment* rate of 96.3. The license states of the Union had a rate of 110, and the Prohibition states a rate of 29.8. If Mr. Cabell can make anything out of this, let him go to it.

Liquor Consumption in Kansas

Mr. Cabell says he has been unable to locate any reliable figures in regard to liquor consumption in Kansas. Indeed, he is habitually unable to arrive at the truth or to locate any figures that are complete and correct. With great pleasure we furnish him with the following liquor consumption statistics, the estimates being made from reports made to county clerks under the Mahin law:

Kansas population	1,690,949
Liquor consumption, gals.....	6,239,601.81
Paid for liquors.....	\$ 5,303,666.04
Paid per capita.....	3.04
Per capita cost in nation as a whole.....	21.00
At rate of \$21 per capita Kansas would pay.....	34,509,929.00
Saving due to prohibition.....	29,206,263.00

We are also very eager to furnish the following figures for Mr. Cabell's discussion. They were secured direct from state officials by the temperance society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and show the discrepancy between the federal licenses and state licenses (or totals of local licenses). As is well known, this difference between federal and state licenses is practically a census of "blind pigs" in any state. The table follows:

State	Number state licenses	Number federal licenses	Excess federal licenses
Michigan	¹ 3,983	² 7,939	3,956
Florida	354	1,267	913
New Hampshire	606	855	249
Rhode Island	397	1,552	1,155
Washington	2,340	3,169	829
Texas	3,100	3,336	236
Ohio	5,355	¹ 3,299	7,944
Idaho	226	794	568
Kansas .....	....	² 766	766

¹ Both wholesale and retail.

² Retail only.

³ June 30, 1914.

What the Witnesses Say

Let us call the witnesses and see what they think of Prohibition in Kansas. If anyone should know, they should know, for they live with it and under it:

The governor of Kansas says Prohibition is a great success.

Every state official who has spoken out says Prohibition succeeds.

More than 700 editors and newspaper men of Kansas, in state convention, unanimously endorsed Prohibition.

Every political party in Kansas favors the Prohibition law.

No minister has ever opened his mouth in favor of return to license; neither has any school teacher.

The president of Kansas retailers says Prohibition pays.

The president of the State Bankers' Association believes that Prohibition is a tremendous asset to Kansas.

One hundred and sixty-six bankers have filed their testimony in favor of the law with the temperance society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and only six could be found in all the state who doubted the wisdom of this legislation.

The president of the Kansas Medical Society believes in Prohibition.

The president of the Commercial Clubs of Kansas has said that Prohibition has added real value to every acre of Kansas land.

The supreme court has testified in the following strong language to the benefits of the Prohibition law:

The prohibitory law is well enforced thruout the state. It is as generally well enforced as any other criminal law. The enforcement of the law distinctly promotes social welfare and reduces to a minimum economic waste consequent upon the liquor traffic and allied evils. The saloonkeeper and his comrades have been excluded from effective participation in the politics of the state.

And to completely settle the question for all time the legislature of Kansas, not by a majority, but unanimously, passed the following concurrent resolution at the last session:

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 33, by Senator Kinkel—Concerning the Welfare of Kansas Under Prohibition.

Whereas, The liquor interests thruout the country, and those allied with them in their nefarious business, are publishing abroad in form of paid advertisements in the newspapers, certain false and defamatory statements

to the effect that prohibition in Kansas has caused increase in crime, death rate, homicide, suicides, divorces, and juvenile delinquents; and,

Whereas, The saloon trust is making use of juggled statistics, falsehoods manufactured by criminal interests, allied to the alcohol venders and derogatory statements made by a few unreliable and irresponsible citizens of Kansas, all with the intention of creating prejudice in the minds of the legislators of other state, and thus influencing proposed anti-liquor legislation; and,

Whereas, There is a lobby, the members of which profess to be Kansas men, operating in the legislation of the state of Utah, and alleging that evil follows in the train of Prohibition, and that the enforcement of the prohibitory law in Kansas has resulted in multiplying crime, and deteriorating all the mental and moral faculties of the people of Kansas; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the senate, the house of representatives concurring therein, That all of such charges are libelous and false, and do but represent the sentiments of men who, when this state exiled the saloon, were compelled to leave Kansas for her good.

Resolved, That the reverse of these statements is true; that the state of Kansas is cleaner, better, more advanced in mental culture, and stronger in moral fiber and conviction; that her homes are happier and more comfortable, her children better educated than ever before in her history; that crime is less prevalent and poverty less general; and that all this is due largely to the fact that the saloon is such an outlaw that none of her school children have ever seen a saloon, and are unacquainted with the appearance of a saloon keeper; and be it further

Resolved, That we, as representatives of the people of Kansas, hereby declare our allegiance to the cause of temperance, sobriety and right living, as exemplified by the ultimate result of constitutional Prohibition, and its enforcement in our midst, and that we are opposed to any return to the domination of intoxicating liquors, and that no proposition looking to a resubmission of the prohibitory amendment, and that no law which has for its object the reestablishment of places for the sale of liquor anywhere in Kansas will be given serious consideration, either by the legislature or by any of its committees.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the Journals of the house and senate, and that the chief clerk of the house, and the secretary of the senate are directed to send certified copies of this resolution to all states of the union which now have legislatures convened and in session for the enactment of laws.

The figures used in this statement are correct and authoritative. We have avoided nothing, evaded nothing, misconstrued nothing, covered nothing up. Anything further that might be said would simply add to the mass. Let the American people hear the truth and judge.

**Report of the Northeast Experiment Farm at Grand Rapids,
Minnesota. May, 1909.**

The Relationship of the Liquor Traffic to Agriculture in
Northeastern Minnesota. A. J. McGuire

In nearly every village, town and city in northeastern Minnesota are saloons. The average in number is about one to every 250 population, not of the population of the towns alone, but of the entire population, country and town.

Most of these saloons were built up for the lumbering industry, those of recent years for the mining industry.

The lumbering industry is practically over in the greater part of northeastern Minnesota. The mining industry occupies relatively but a small area.

The coming industry of northeastern Minnesota is that of agriculture. It is this industry that will give employment to the greatest number of people, and it is the source from which will come the greatest wealth.

The development of agriculture in northeastern Minnesota is yet to be made. Not one-tenth of the entire area is in the hands of actual farmers, not one-tenth of that under cultivation.

The task is an enormous one; the clearing of the land, the building of roads, and the drainage of its great swamp areas. But back of this is the assurance of repayment. In the first foot of soil is a greater wealth than in all the mines. When under the plow and wisely husbanded the agricultural lands of northeastern Minnesota now unoccupied will provide homes and well paid employment for over a hundred thousand families.

The building up of this agriculture, of farming, the rapidity of its development, and the profit of its returns will depend upon the character and industry of the men who engage in it, and not only this, but upon the character and practices of the local government.

Any influence that is not for development, that weakens and thwarts the strength and industry of the working people, or diverts public funds into channels from which no good is derived, that influence has no place in northeastern Minnesota today.

Such is the influence of the liquor traffic. It is not denied, but it is believed to bring money to a town. It is believed that

it helps to pay the taxes, that it is the means of securing money which otherwise would be sent out of the country.

The argument that a saloon is a financial aid to a town is commonly used in behalf of the liquor traffic, but it is not true. The only source of wealth to any community, the only abiding prosperity lies in production. The saloon produces absolutely nothing, nothing that is desirable or helpful to any normal man, woman or child.

That a saloon is a financial aid to any community has never been proven. That it is a positive detriment may be read on the record books of every county in northeastern Minnesota.

Please note the following from the 1908 annual report of one of the leading counties:

Expense, district court	\$11,299.00
Expense, justice court	4,211.00
Board of prisoners at county jail	2,198.00
County poor	8,806.00
Total	\$26,514.00

Over 75 per cent of this entire expense was directly due to crimes developed through the influence of the liquor traffic, and through poverty arising from earnings being spent for drink instead of the necessities of life.

These \$26,000 for the conviction of criminals and the relief of poverty may have been justly expended under the circumstances, but while we expend so much to run down the unfortunate criminal and to relieve the poor, would it not also be well to look into the cause of this horrible catalog of crime and poverty, and to devote some attention to its prevention, rather than so much to its relief?

The convicted criminal is a criminal still, and the family whose husband and father is a worthless drunkard finds small solace and but little help from the hand of public charity.

It is time a halt was called to this unnatural and unnecessary expense, and from the farmers' standpoint more than any other, for it is against the land that this tax will be largely charged.

In some of the counties the land tax has already nearly reached the limit, and for what? Not for roads or bridges, the crying need of the country but for court trials, for the trials of crime, crime that has its origin in the saloon, in the drunkenness, idleness, poverty and political degradation that they cause,

saloons built for the so-called "lumber jack" and "miner." "They will spend their money anyway," 'tis said, "so it don't matter." But it has mattered in that the men who have tried to make an honest living, to make their homes here, and to build up the country are now having to pay over \$20,000 a year in taxes in a single county for criminal courts, poor houses, and the burial of paupers.

That tax is needed for the building of roads and schools, for the development of the country.

Remove the liquor traffic and it may be so used.

If the only effects of the saloon were in an increased tax it might be borne, but this is only secondary to the waste of time and industry it causes, to the able-bodied men who cease steady employment and become saloon-loafers and tramps, worthless to themselves, a disgrace to their family, and a burden to the public.

You see that man in the gutter and you scorn him a worthless drunkard, yet that man a few years ago was on a farm—a producer—a benefit to the whole community, but through drink he has become what he is. You may put him in jail at the expense of the taxpayers but if that saloon had not been there that man would have been an industrious citizen.

We tolerate the saloon for the miserable license it pays, believing it a source of revenue, but no saloon has ever yet created one dollars, but that man the saloon made a drunkard and a pauper was a producer. His labor might have cleared up a farm from which more of the necessities of life could have been produced. Had his money not been spent in the saloon it would have been expended for a better home, for farm machinery, for merchandise.

Who will say that such a man is not worth more to a community than the \$500 license the saloon buys its existence with? But every saloon in northeastern Minnesota is the ruination of more than one man every year.

That miner, had he not been thrown in contact with the saloon would have saved his money and in a few years bought a farm. He would have become a producer, and his labor on the farm would result in cheaper and better farm products for the people in town.

But you saw only the license money from the saloon as being helpful to the town and you allowed the saloon to poison and

rob him. You got part of his money through the license it is true, but you will pay it back twice over in the results that will follow; the results of a depraved man—robbery, murder, court trials, a burdensome tax for the conviction of criminals instead of for the upbuilding of the country.

The saloons and their followers have had their way. They have filled the jails and poor houses and the potter's fields, and placed an indebtedness on many sections of the country that will take years to remove.

The man in the lumber business did not need to care. He could leave the country when the trees were down, but the farmer is here to stay.

The farmer's business is one in which the home and family constitute the foundation. The saloon more than all other evils combined is most disastrous to the home.

That farm woman waiting there on the street corner, with faded clothes and a care-worn face, and toil-worn hands represents a home that knows the blighting influence of the saloon.

"When," she asked, "are the saloons to be removed from this town? I heard that they were going to be. The timber we once had on the farm and that might have made us comfortable my husband spent for liquor, and now he is spending what little we can make on the farm and I don't know what to do."

That same cry is in the hearts of hundreds of farm women who came here to the wilderness and have borne its privations and hardships and loneliness and year by year their hopes have died until they "don't know what to do."

God forbid that this state of affairs should longer exist.

The saloon stands in the way of progressive farming—by poisoning the farmer who drinks, and by breaking the heart of his family, by robbing the farmer who doesn't drink through taxation for crime and poverty and in degrading the working men of the woods and mines who otherwise would seek homes on the land through their earnings and become useful citizens.

The saloons must go if northeastern Minnesota is to become the prosperous farming section that its rich resources entitle it to be.

Commoner. 15:6-7. May, 1915.

The Case Against Alcohol. William Jennings Bryan

This is the second central meeting in the interest of total abstinence held under the auspices of the National Abstainers Union, the first being at Philadelphia on the 15th of March last. The organization is non-partisan and non-sectarian, its purpose being to bring all of the people of our country without regard to politics, church, or race, into active cooperation in behalf of temperance.

Before presenting arguments in favor of total abstinence I ask your attention to certain figures and comparisons which will show the enormous amount expended in the United States for intoxicating liquors and therefore the great importance of the subject with which we are dealing.

As the body becomes insensible to pain when a certain degree is reached, so the mind ceases to comprehend the meaning of figures beyond a certain point. A thousand million, for instance, does not seem to us much more than a hundred million or even a million. I have tried, therefore, to translate into every day language the figures that set forth the cost of intemperance.

At Philadelphia I used four comparisons, based upon an expenditure of the sum of two and a half billions of dollars a year—that is, an average of \$25 per capita or \$125 per family. The comparisons then used showed (1) that there is daily spent for drink in the United States one-tenth of the sum expended for the carrying on the war now raging in Europe; (2) that the amount expended for drink in the United States would build six Panama canals each year; (3) that the amount annually spent for drink is more than three times the entire amount spent for education in the United States; and (4) that the amount spent for drink is almost double the annual expenditures of the federal government.

I shall tonight present four other comparisons which cannot fail to impress you with the heavy burden that the use of intoxicating liquor throws upon our population.

First: According to the statistics compiled by the department of commerce, the value of three of the great agricultural crops, on the first of December, 1914, was as follows: Cotton, \$520,000,000; wheat, \$878,000,000; corn, \$1,700,000,000. (These crops vary in value from year to year; in 1913 the cotton crop was worth \$825,000,000 and the wheat crop only \$610,000,000; I have used the last year.)

Consider the land employed in the raising of cotton, the amount of labor required and the number of persons interested, and then remember that we spend for liquor, each year, more than four cotton crops. Survey the broad wheat fields of our land, estimate the number of persons engaged in the production of this staple of life, and then remember that we expend almost three wheat crops a year for intoxicating liquors. Corn is grown in every state and is the largest single source of wealth; it yields more than the wheat and cotton crops combined, and yet we annually spend for liquor nearly 50 per cent more than the value of the entire corn crop.

Statistics show that 268,000 manufacturing establishments in this country employ over 6,500,000 wage earners, and that these wage earners add \$8,500,000,000 to the value of the material used in industries in which they are employed. They do not receive that sum in wages, but they create that amount of wealth. It gives some idea of the amount spent for liquor to know that during the year we spend for drink more than one-fourth as much as these 6,500,000 wage earners produce. Would not national prosperity be largely increased if the amount spent for drink was expended for food and clothing and homes?

Second: As we are all interested in good roads I have made a computation to ascertain how far that amount spent for liquor would go toward the building of good roads in the United States. I find that the average cost of a macadam road, 16 feet wide and 7 inches thick, is about \$6,500 per mile. This is the estimate furnished by the office of public roads in the department of agriculture; but to be sure that we are liberal in our estimate, let us put it at \$8,333 per mile—or three miles for \$25,000. This enables us to make our computation in round numbers. If \$25,000 will build three miles of macadam road, then \$2,500,000,000 will build 300,000 miles. If we count the distance from ocean to ocean at 3,000 miles, the annual amount spent for drink would build 100 macadam highways across the continent; and these, counting the width of the country north and south at 1,200 miles, would give us a highway every 12 miles. If, the second year, we built 300,000 miles of highways running north and south we could, in two years have the United States gridironed with macadam roads 12 miles apart so that every citizen would be within 6 miles of a good road, which would put him into communication with every other part of the union. In less than eight years time every

mile of public road in the United States could be macadamized with the amount spent for alcoholic liquors. The amount now expended in paving the road to perdition would, if spent for good roads, soon lift the mud embargo from the entire country. Calculate, if you will, the change that would follow the investment of the nation's drink money in paved highways—the increase in comfort to the farmer and his family—the increased attractiveness of country life, and the commercial value of these good roads to the towns and cities of the land.

Now let us proceed to the third comparison: According to the statistics furnished by the interstate commerce commission the railroads pay out each year to their employees \$1,373,422,472—or only a little more than one-half the amount expended for alcoholic liquor. Take a railroad map of the United States, trace the lines east and west, north and south, and the diagonal lines, and then estimate the number of men required to operate them—the engineers who keep faithful vigil while the passengers sleep—the conductors who, ever alert, direct the trains—the men who, at the switch, on the road and in the stations, are required for the traffic, passenger and freight—this great army receives for this work, indispensable to the nation's prosperity, but a little more than one-half of the amount that is paid for the drink which unfits men for any responsible position.

The railroads of the country are capitalized at \$20,247,301,257, of which \$8,680,759,704 represents capital stock, and \$11,566,541,553 represents bonded indebtedness. A considerable portion of this capitalization is water and does not represent actual value; the commission is now at work collecting information as to the physical value of these roads, and we shall know in a few years what it would cost to reproduce them, but, taking them at their book value, it would only require eight years to duplicate these railroads if the annual amount spent for liquor was devoted to railroad building. Does not this comparison give you some idea of the importance of the liquor question to the nation?

Fourth: As New York is the financial center of the country and is destined to be the clearing house of the world, you may be more interested in the fourth comparison: The statistics compiled by the treasury department show that there are 7,581 national banks in the United States with a capital stock of \$1,065,951,505, and a surplus of \$726,935,755—or a total capital and a surplus of a little less than \$1,800,000,000. Is it not appalling to

think that the amount spent for drink each year would duplicate all the national banks in the country, supply them with their present capital and surplus and then leave a balance of \$700,000,000 to be invested in other ways?

There are in the United States 19,240 banks other than national—that is, state and private banks—having a total capitalization of \$1,073,881,738, and a total surplus of \$991,147,876; or a total of capital and surplus of a little less than \$2,100,000,000. The amount spent for liquor each year would furnish the capital and surplus for these more than nineteen thousand banks, and leave a balance of \$400,000,000.

In other words, the amount now spent annually for drink would in two years duplicate all the banks of the country, state and national, furnish them with capital and surplus equal to that which they now have, and leave \$1,000,000,000 for other investments. Is it not worth while to give some attention to the liquor question? Imagine, if you can, the effect upon the home life of the country if the amount invested in drink were invested in bank stock, and what do you think would be the effect upon business if the capital and surplus of the banks were doubled in two years?

If I may now assume that you are sufficiently impressed with the magnitude of the evils of intemperance we may proceed to a discussion of remedies. When we come to consider the liquor question we find that the remedies proposed follow one of two lines—namely, moral suasion and legislation. All who labor in the cause of temperance seek to lessen the use of intoxicating liquor—some by persuading people not to drink, some by urging laws which will prevent the manufacture and sale of liquor, while still others divide their energies between the two lines of work. As for myself, while I have definite views as to the means that should be employed for solving the legislative problem presented by the liquor traffic, I shall confine myself tonight to the first line of argument, and appeal to those present, and to those whom I may reach through the press, to take their position as individuals on the side of total abstinence; for whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the relative merits of different legislative remedies, no one will deny that the total abstainer, to the extent of his influence, lessens the use of alcohol, and by so doing both reduces the evils of intemperance and lightens the task of the legislator.

Why should the individual abstain entirely from the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage? That is the pledge which we urge upon each and all. Why?

First: Because both experience and investigation show that no advantage of any kind—physical, mental or moral—is to be gained from the moderate or even occasional use of intoxicating liquor. This reason ought in itself to be sufficient, for the intelligent man demands a reason before he undertakes anything which affects his own welfare or his relation to others. If it cannot be shown that the use of alcoholic liquors is beneficial, then the money spent upon it is unwisely spent, for man cannot afford to waste money upon that which does him no good.

Second: But the case against alcohol does not, however, rest upon negative arguments. The use of alcohol is distinctly and undeniably harmful; it impairs the strength of the body, even when taken in small quantities; it injuriously affects the mind and it undermines the morals. Scientific investigation has demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt that alcohol is a poison and that its introduction into the system weakens man's power to resist disease, and reduces his capacity for intelligent and useful labor. As evidence, I cite the fact that its use is prohibited in schools and that the laws of every state provide severe penalties for the sale of intoxicating liquor to minors. If, by common consent, we try to protect the young man from the use of alcohol until he is twenty-one, is not the presumption strongly against the use of alcohol after one reaches maturity? This presumption is supported by the laws forbidding the sale of liquor to drunkards—laws unanimously supported by public sentiment. But we are not left to presumption—proof is conclusive. The tables of mortality of insurance companies show that the use of intoxicating liquor appreciably shortens life. At thirty the expectancy of abstainers is three years and eight months longer than the expectancy of the non-abstainers—an advantage of 11 per cent. The man who drinks commits suicide by degrees—the rapidity of his decline being proportioned to the amount of alcohol consumed, and what is even worse, he visits his sins upon future generations—commits a crime against descendants, those who are both innocent and helpless.

Drink leads to idleness. The business men of our country are year by year drawing the line more strictly against the use of

alcohol by employees. Why? Because a clear brain and a steady nerve are required in every important avenue of industry, and alcohol befuddles the brain and paralyzes the nerves.

No employer cares to put business in the hands of a tippler; the man who drinks cannot safely be trusted with the care of life or property. Read the advertisement in the want columns. Did you ever see an item like this: "Wanted—A good moderate drinker for a responsible position." No saloon-keeper would stand sponsor for such an advertisement, for total abstinence is a virtue even behind the bar.

There has been a growing disposition in this country and throughout the world, to emphasize the evils of strong drink, but even the most enthusiastic advocates of temperance have been surprised at the ghastly light which the war in Europe has thrown upon the subject. It has been found that patriotism—patriotism, that compelling force which throughout the ages has led men to offer their lives for their country—is no match for the appetite which alcohol cultivates in its victims. Loyalty to Bacchus, Gambrinus and Barleycorn, is greater than loyalty to king or kaiser or czar. The use of drink has been found to be so destructive of efficiency, that the belligerent governments, not on moral grounds, but purely on economic grounds, have been compelled to resort to restrictive measures. The aeroplane that drops its bomb from above and the submarine which shoots its torpedo from below are less to be feared than the schooner that crosses the bar.

But why talk of the moderate use of alcoholic drinks? There is no fixed line at which drinking ceases to be moderate and becomes excessive. Every victim of the habit has sought for this line, but he has sought in vain; like the horizon, it recedes from him as he advances until it finally disappears in the starless night of drunkenness. No one begins to drink with the expectation of yielding to the appetite; most of the men who have been wrecked by alcohol have had their period of boasting when they proclaimed their ability to drink or leave it alone at will. It is not safe to trifle with disease, and drinking becomes a disease as soon as the use of it has caused a craving for it. No age is immune from the appetite for alcohol. It fastens itself as readily upon those of advanced years as upon those in youth or in middle life. A physician recently told me of a case in which a man took his first taste of whisky when he was above seventy, and was never

sober again during the remaining four years of his life. Who can defend the taking of such risks as those involved in the use of intoxicating liquor? All history, sacred and profane, warns us against the worship of the bleer-eyed god.

"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright.

"At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

This is the admonition of Solomon. Alcohol still bites it still stings. Surely it is the part of wisdom to "touch not, taste not, and handle not" a thing which, even when used sparingly causes an appreciable loss in health, in strength, and in service; which, when used in so-called moderation, causes wretchedness, cruelty and crime, and which finds its culmination in delirium tremens, the most terrorizing experience through which a human being can pass.

But I am not willing to rest the case in favor of total abstinence entirely upon the ground that one who uses alcohol brings danger upon himself. That argument, while it should be sufficient to deter the prudent man, has in it an element of selfishness. While one is justified in abstaining from that which would reduce his physical and mental capacity below the maximum, he cannot ignore the effect which his conduct has upon others, and no one in this land and age can be ignorant of the suffering and injustice which alcohol has brought into the home. In cases innumerable the husband has been converted into a beast, and the burden of supporting the family has been thrown upon the wife. In cases without number drink has robbed the children of the guardianship of a father, sometimes even of the affectionate care of a mother, made the coming of the parent a cause of alarm, and changed the smile of welcome into an expression of fear. Neither can we forget the burden that drink throws upon society, first, in decreasing the productive power of wage earners and, second, in imposing a pecuniary burden upon all for the care of those who, through the use of liquor, have been brought to the poorhouse or to the penitentiary.

But there is another argument the force of which I feel sure this audience will appreciate, namely, man's responsibility for the example which he sets to others. If one uses intoxicating liquor himself he cannot well advise others against it; at least, he is not apt to do so, for the consciousness of inconsistency puts a restraint upon his tongue.

The signing of the pledge is the outward evidence of an inward resolve which everyone must take who has reached the decision not to drink. If you do not intend to use liquor, why not let your determination help others as well as yourself? Each individual has an influence and that influence is on one side of the line or the other. If one drinks, his influence is necessarily on the side of drinking; if he does not drink, his influence is on the side of total abstinence. Surely the appetite for intoxicants must be strong indeed if it can overcome the natural desire of every good citizen to contribute his mite to so righteous a cause. In several of the belligerent nations the sovereign has announced his abstinence from the use of liquor in order that his example may encourage his subjects to abstain; in this land, where every citizen is a sovereign, why should the individual be less concerned about the influence of his example.

The world is aroused to the menace of alcohol—war has been declared against it in every civilized land and there is no neutral ground. I call you to the colors—to the standard raised by the National Abstiners Union for "Health and Home and Humanity," Rise! Let us pledge our support to the cause in water—in water, the daily need of every living thing. It ascends from the seas, obedient to the summons of the sun, and descending, showers blessings upon the earth; it gives of its sparkling beauty to the fragrant flowers; its alchemy transmutes base clay into golden grain; it is the canvas upon which the finger of the infinite traces the radiant bow of promise. It is the drink that refreshes and adds no sorrow with it—Jehovah looked upon it at Creation's dawn and said—"It is good."

Pittsburgh Dispatch. September 21, 1914

Prohibition in West Virginia. Fred O. Blue

That more real prosperity has come to the masses of West Virginia since it became a dry state July 1, than was ever experienced by the state before, was the argument of Fred O. Blue, prohibition commissioner of West Virginia, in an address at Memorial Hall, Sunday afternoon.

The first time West Virginia voted on the wet and dry question was in 1888, when only three counties voted dry. In 1912 only three counties voted wet, and, although the state had

doubled in population in the meantime, there were 3,000 less wet votes in the state than in 1888. "This," said Mr. Blue, "was due to education. Effects of alcohol has been taught in the schools of the state since 1888."

"The first thing we did after the amendment had carried," he said, "was to pass a real prohibition law. One of the wets described it as having horns. We did away with the clubs and we did away with the drug stores. No physician in West Virginia can give you a prescription for wine or whisky. They say you can't enforce it. I want to say that you can. Our police courts are practically idle. Last week, for the first time in the history of the state, a grand jury adjourned without finding a single offense worthy of indictment.

"I want to say that Prohibition has not hurt business. Wheeling, which was the wettest town in the state, has turned her brewery into a packing house, and it employs three times as many men as it did. In Charleston the brewery has become an ice plant, and we are to have cheaper ice, so that the poor of the city can afford it. In Wheeling, where there were fourteen saloons in one block, every place has been rented to another form of industry; some at advanced rents. A shoe dealer located in that block writes that his business has increased 35 per cent since the city has been dry, over a corresponding period when it was wet."

Commoner. 15:2. May, 1915

The Question of Compensation. William Jennings Bryan

Now that the liquor interests are threatened with the annihilation of their business we hear again the argument that they should be compensated for any loss they may suffer as a result of laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor. If this came in the form of a proposition, submitted by the liquor interests in return for the voluntary abandonment of their business, it would be more worthy of consideration, but it is not presented as a basis of agreement and an offer to buy them out would not change the attitude of the representatives of the liquor interests. If they could by any means force the adoption of a provision compelling the public to compensate those driven out of business they would fight Prohibition just the same, and

such concessions to them, being manifestly unjust, would simply alienate the friends of Prohibition without winning support from its enemies.

And why should the matter of compensation be considered? Is any liquor dealer ignorant of the character of the business? Does he not know that the liquor business is in a class by itself? Is he not compelled to secure a license before he can open his place of business, and has he not observed the tendency toward increasing taxes upon his business? Is he not required to observe laws forbidding the sale of liquor to drunkards and to minors? Does he not have to give bond for the payment of damages caused? Is he not liable to suit at the hands of those who are injured by his business? Does he not see daily the ruin that liquor causes and does he not, therefore, engage in the business with a full knowledge of the harm that it works to his fellow men? Being under no compulsion to go into the business, and being free to retire from it at any time, he cannot ask immunity from the effects of legislation which the evils incident to his business compel.

If any attempt were made to collect from society a sum sufficient to compensate the brewer, the distiller or the saloon-keeper for loss due to the enactment of prohibitory laws a multitude of voices would answer "No!" The public has already paid an enormous penalty for permitting the business to exist so long. Why should society insure the liquor dealer against loss when the liquor dealer has been so indifferent to the loss that he inflicts upon society, individually and as a whole? How many husbands have been converted into brutes by the use of liquor? Do those who sell the stuff offer to restore the husbands whom they have ruined? How many homes have been made desolate? Have those who caused this desolation had any thought of making restoration? How many young men have been dragged down to destruction by rum? Do the brewers, the distillers and the saloon-keepers offer to compensate the mothers for the loss of sons—could they do so even if they desired? What is a young man worth? What price can be put upon the possibilities of a human life or upon an immortal soul?

Have the liquor dealers any intention of repairing the wrong they have done to government and to our institutions by the methods they have employed to prolong their reign of lawlessness?

He who comes into a court of equity must come with clean hands—look at the hands of those who handle alcohol! Is it necessary to purchase the burglar's kit of tools before putting him out of business? It would be scarcely less absurd to talk of allowing the saloon to run until the people are ready to tax themselves to make good this investment in sin and crime. From the time a majority of the members of Congress voted for national Prohibition the saloon business has been an outlaw—it was a criminal before. Those who have invested in it can get out of it as best they can and as soon as they can. Such loss as the business may suffer will fall heaviest on those who are either too blind to see the trend of public sentiment, or too indifferent to heed the signs of the times.

Vindicator. April 30, 1915

Compensation

Somebody is securing a wide publication for an article advocating compensation of liquor interests in event of Prohibition, or, more properly, opposing Prohibition upon the ground that it does not provide for compensation. The article ends with the following sentences:

Our forefathers in 1773 declared that "taxation without representation is tyranny." In 1915 what term shall we apply to "confiscation without compensation"?

It would be rather difficult to see how the two ideas expressed in these sentences have any relation to each other. The writer of the article in question might have used almost any other sentiment famous in American history to introduce his compensation idea. But, however the question gets before us, what of it?

Readers of the Vindicator know that this paper has not been hostile to the compensation idea. On the contrary we have believed that, although there is no legal claim which the liquor interests can urge because of which they should be compensated for the loss which they will suffer by Prohibition, although the character of the business which they have conducted and the style of opposition to reform with which they have sought to continue their business have been such as to properly arouse indignation, if the liquor makers and dealers would sell out,

it would be better and cheaper for the people to buy out the liquor business than to fight through a fight that perhaps must go on for years and leave roots of bitterness to rankle in our national life for generations. In taking this position we stand exactly where Mr. Lincoln stood in regard to the slavery question. But when the liquor advocates talk about "confiscation" as a basis for compensation they are entirely in error. The Prohibition of the liquor traffic is not confiscation of anything.

It is not confiscation because no property is taken from anybody. On the morning after the going in force of a Prohibition law, every liquor dealer and maker will wake up in the peaceful possession of every piece of property which he now possesses and every dollar which he now has, no matter how illy gotten, with full lawful right to use them in any lawful enterprise. The only thing of which he will have been deprived is a privilege which he has been enjoying for a longer or shorter time but which, by the very terms of its granting, was always merely a privilege to be terminated or renewed at the pleasure of the grantor.

A second consideration is the fact that even possession of the property in this country is conditioned upon the proper use of property. The man who makes use of his property in such fashion as to do damage to his fellow citizens, by such use of it, ceases to have property rights in it. In the light of that fact, even the taking away of the liquor dealer's property which has been used to public damages call it confiscation or what you please, would be an act for which no compensation could be demanded.

It is not necessary here to cite the long array of judicial decisions, covering the highest courts of the land for a period of more than fifty years, in confirmation of these statements.

As a practical suggestion, we beg to say to the gentlemen who represent the liquor interests that they can vastly improve their presentation of the compensation idea. There is, even yet, some slight possibility that the American people might be persuaded to do more than justice to the liquor makers and dealers, but the temper of the American people is already pretty thoroughly tried by the long continued lawless opposition of the liquor traffic to the people's will. Nothing will be gained by hurling the idea of compensation as a weapon against Prohibition; a frank offer to surrender, with a plea for mercy,

might meet response, but the time for even that is perilously short.

There is a "confiscation" that is possible. It is a thinkable thing that the American people will be driven, not only to abolish the liquor traffic, but to take away the vast fortunes that have been piled up from its ill-gotten and bloody gains. Following their present course, the liquor makers and liquor dealers are inviting that confiscation.

California Official

Argument in Favor of Prohibition, 1914. Samuel W. Odell.

This amendment is proposed by initiative petition procured by the California "Dry" Federation, a non-partisan organization.

Voters should enact it for every reason. License or other laws regulating the liquor traffic do not lessen drunkenness or the quantity of liquor consumed, but do make those who vote for them *responsible for evil results*.

The enormous consumption of liquors, resulting in sickness, idiocy, insanity, crime, profligacy and death, puts the issue squarely before our race to go "*dry*" or *die*. Science proves that habitual, moderate drinking is as bad as periodical drunkenness. Of ninety-seven children observed who were conceived while parents were partially intoxicated only fourteen were normal. Life insurance tables show the life expectancy of a person of 20 years, if a total abstainer, is 44 years, if a moderate drinker, 31 years, if a hard drinker, 15 years. Three drinks of liquor daily decrease efficiency 5 to 8 per cent. Accidents due to alcohol and employers' liability laws compel employers to hire total abstainers. Healers, physical, spiritual and mental, are hindered by alcoholic conditions.

Seven hundred and seventy lunatics in our state hospitals in 1912 were registered as alcoholic insane. Half the remainder were so indirectly. (See Eighth Report State Lunacy Commission.) It cost California taxpayers \$1,469,667 to maintain these hospitals in 1912, and \$29,000,000 to deal with alcoholic crime. Liquor costs the taxpayer seven dollars for every dollar received in taxes or license fees. The Fifteenth Report, Bureau of Labor, shows our courts in two years dealt with 113,526 misdemeanors, of which 66,930 were "drunks" and 20,000 more were kindred

crimes caused indirectly by alcohol. In "wet" towns huge police forces and many courts grind daily grists of crime; in "dry" towns few are needed. Other states show like conditions. Kansas under prohibitory laws has many counties without a criminal in jail or an insane person in hospital.

Brothels and red-light districts are part of the liquor traffic.

This amendment will help business and relieve poverty. Let breweries and distilleries be turned into flour mills. Let barley and corn be turned into beef, poultry or bread instead of liquor. The increased supply will lessen the cost of living. Let wine grapes worth six dollars per ton be substituted by table grapes worth thirty, or dried or turned into grape juice or syrup. Professor Bioletti says there is a market in the United States for ten times the whole product.

Our grapegrowers admit that wine grapes have been unprofitable, for their hope for future profit lies in the immigration of cheap laborers from Europe through the Panama canal. With pauper labor they hope to profit. (See Vol. II, Bulletin State Commission of Horticulture for 1913.) The liquor traffic is the confessed enemy of American labor. Laboring men do not desire to earn bread from evil business.

Immigrants from Europe are generally liquor drinkers. "Dry" the state and turn them elsewhere.

This amendment does not interfere with personal liberty. Like laws against opium, cocaine, lotteries, and horseracing, it interferes only with personal license. Remove temptation from people of weak or abnormal appetites. One who only drinks occasionally should vote "dry" to save them. The liquor traffic has never benefited any one; it has ruined millions. Voter, it may ruin your son or daughter as it has ruined others.

Carefully investigate. Vote "Yes."

United States Supreme Court

Crowley vs. Christensen, 137 U. S. 89-92, November 10, 1890

It is undoubtedly true that it is the right of every citizen of the United States to pursue any lawful trade or business, under such restrictions as are imposed upon all persons of the same age, sex and condition. But the possession and enjoyment of all rights are subject to such reasonable conditions as may be

deemed by the governing authority of the country essential to the safety, health, peace, good order and morals of the community. Even liberty itself, the greatest of all rights, is not unrestricted license to act according to one's own will. It is only freedom from restraint under conditions essential to the equal enjoyment of the same right by others. It is then liberty regulated by law. The right to acquire, enjoy and dispose of property is declared in the constitutions of several states to be one of the inalienable rights of man. But this declaration is not held to preclude the legislature of any state from passing laws respecting the acquisition, enjoyment and disposition of property. What contracts respecting its acquisition and disposition shall be valid and what void or voidable; when they shall be in writing and when they may be made orally, and by what instruments it may be conveyed or mortgaged, are subjects of constant legislation. And as to the enjoyment of property, the rule is general that it must be accompanied with such limitations as will not impair the equal enjoyment by others of their property. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas* is a maxim of universal application.

For the pursuit of any lawful trade or business, the law imposes similar conditions. Regulations respecting them are almost infinite, varying with the nature of the business. Some occupations by the noise made in their pursuit, some by the odors they engender, and some by the dangers accompanying them, require regulations as to the locality in which they shall be conducted. Some by the dangerous character of the articles used, manufactured or sold require, also, special qualifications in the parties permitted to use, manufacture or sell them. All this is but common knowledge and would hardly be mentioned were it not for the position often taken, and vehemently pressed, that there is something wrong in principle and objectionable in similar restrictions when applied to the business of selling by retail, in small quantities, spirituous and intoxicating liquors. It is urged that, as the liquors are used as a beverage, and the injury following them, if taken in excess, is voluntarily inflicted and is confined to the party offending, their sales should be without restrictions, the contention being that what a man shall drink, equally with what he shall eat, is not properly a matter for legislation.

There is in this position an assumption of a fact which does not exist, that when the liquors are taken in excess the injuries are confined to the party offending. The injury, it is true, first

falls upon him in his health, which the habit undermines; in his morals, which it weakens; and in the self-abasement which it creates. But, as it leads to neglect of business and waste of property and general demoralization, it affects those who are immediately connected with and dependent upon him. By the general concurrence of opinion of every civilized and Christian community, there are few sources of crime and misery to society equal to the dramshop, where intoxicating liquors, in small quantities, to be drunk at the time, are sold indiscriminately to all parties applying. The statistics of every state show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these retail liquor saloons than to any other source. The sale of such liquors in this way has therefore been, at all times, by the courts of every state, considered as the proper subject of legislative regulation. Not only may a license be exacted from the keeper of the saloon before a glass of his liquors can be thus disposed of, but restrictions may be imposed as to the class of persons to whom they may be sold, and the hours of the day, and the days of the week, on which the saloons may be opened. Their sale in that form may be absolutely prohibited. It is a question of public expediency and public morality, and not of federal law. The police power of the state is fully competent to regulate the business—to mitigate its evils or to suppress it entirely. There is no inherent right in a citizen to thus sell intoxicating liquors by retail; it is not a privilege of a citizen of the state or of a citizen of the United States. As it is a business attended with danger to the community it may, as already said, be entirely prohibited, or be permitted under such conditions as will limit to the utmost its evils. The manner and extent of regulation rest in the discretion of the governing authority. That authority may vest in such officers as it may deem proper the power of passing upon applications for permission to carry it on, and to issue licenses for that purpose. It is a matter of legislative will only. As in many other cases, the officers may not always exercise the power conferred upon them with wisdom or justice to the parties affected. But that is a matter which does not affect the authority of the state, or one which can be brought under the cognizance of the courts of the United States.

Independent. 75:25-6. July 3, 1913

What Prohibition Has Done for Kansas. Charles M. Sheldon

So many lies have been told about Prohibition in Kansas that many good people all over the country still believe the law is a failure. With persistent regularity the brewers' publications assert that under Prohibition more liquor is consumed in Kansas than under high license, and in the next breath they say that if the fanatical Prohibitionists continue to pass their laws the liquor business will soon be doomed.

The Kansas prohibitory law has been a part of our constitution now for over thirty-two years. After nearly a third of a century of this law the following may honestly be stated as some permanent results:

1. *In a great majority of the 105 counties of the state the prohibitory law is obeyed and enforced as well as other laws.* All laws are broken more or less in all the states. Murders are committed sometimes even in New York, but no one insists on criticizing the law against murder because murders continue. The prohibitory law has always been criticized because it does not absolutely stop every legal sale of liquor. But why should the prohibitory law be expected to do more than any other law does? Based on the same principle as other laws it is fair to say that Prohibition does prohibit in Kansas. This does not mean that you cannot get a drink in Kansas or that there are no places where drink is sold, any more than it is impossible for a murder to occur in New York, but it does mean that the prohibitory law is regarded as a part of the constitution and accepted by the people generally as the settled policy of the state.

2. *After thirty-two years of Prohibition in Kansas the liquor business ranks with crime and the man who engages in it is regarded as a criminal.*

There are no respectable brewers in Kansas. A "jointist" is in the same class as a horse thief or a burglar. The young men and women of the state would no more plan to make liquor selling their occupation than they would plan to make a living by blowing open safes.

3. *As a result of Prohibition in Kansas the habit of social drinking has fallen into disrepute.* It is probably safe to say that among the 1,600,000 people in Kansas more men and

women can be found who never touch intoxicating liquor than in any other spot on the globe.

The use of liquor at receptions, banquets and festive occasions generally is very rare. Even political banquets are so closely watched that it is quite safe to say if any party in power in Kansas today should make a practice of putting even beer on its banquet tables that fact would be an issue big enough to vote the party out of power.

4. Not only is the social use of liquor infrequent and unpopular but *the use of liquor as a medicine is fast disappearing*. I have questioned scores of young and successful doctors and learn that a great majority of them never prescribe liquor for any case whatever. Towns all over Kansas of 2,000 or 3,000 people are common where not a drop of alcohol in any form could be found in case of sickness. The drug stores are not allowed to handle alcohol for any purpose, and as a result it is safe to say a healthier lot of people than the average Kansans could hardly be found anywhere on earth.

5. *The result of the prohibitory law has been so educational that practically every newspaper in the state is for the law and its enforcement*. Of the more than 800 papers in the state I do not know of one that ever prints any liquor advertisements. During a recent editorial convention held in the state at which 150 editors were present a resolution endorsing Prohibition and praising its results was passed by the editors without a dissenting vote. It must be said for the press of Kansas that it was largely responsible for the enactment of the law. The papers joined hands with the churches and temperance organizations to create sentiment and form public opinion. As a result of that stand taken thirty-two years ago Kansas has today a newspaper constituency educated to understand the value of what was then won.

6. The economic results of Prohibition are sometimes cited first as being the most important. They are often demanded by opponents of Prohibition as if the whole principle depended on being able to prove a decrease in taxes or an increase in real estate values. Plenty of economic results of Prohibition in Kansas can be shown to any one who asks for them. *The largest per capita wealth is in Kansas today*. Kansas contains more people who own their own homes than any other state in the Union. She has the fewest paupers in proportion to her

population—and all that—but after all, the greatest and most valuable result to the state, *the greatest thing that Prohibition has done for Kansas, is to establish the conviction with the young generation that the entire liquor business is an iniquity and an evil without one redeeming quality, and that it is the business of civilized men and women to rub it off the map of the world.*

The enactment of the Webb bill, regulating the shipment of liquor into Prohibition states, has already proved the greatest help to local enforcement. The Mahin law, passed by the Kansas legislature and based on the Webb bill, has resulted in cutting freight shipments in some localities down to a minimum, so that instead of trying to run a joint, law breakers are now reduced to going to Kansas City with an empty suit case and bringing it back full of whisky or beer. And when a saloon is reduced to the limits of a suit case by the rigor of a law, it will soon have no visible means of support.

If any reader of the Independent is doubtful about conditions in Kansas and still thinks that Prohibition does not prohibit, or that the law is not enforced, I will pay his hotel bills in Topeka for a week if after an honest investigation of conditions in Topeka he is convinced that the law in the capital city of Kansas is a failure.

Congressional Record. 52:495-616. December 22, 1914.

Prohibition in Kansas. John R. Connelly

I feel personally that there has never come and can never come any lasting good to us as a people either from the manufacture or the sale of intoxicating liquors. I want in this matter and in all other matters that come up for consideration here, and upon which men may honestly differ, to exercise that charity for the opinions of others that I would desire that they should exercise for the opinions that are mine. I have never known a man who was intolerant in his opinions whom I would care to follow or for whom I could have a lasting respect.

I am proud of the fact that I come from a state that has for more than a third of a century embraced in its fundamental law a provision that forbade the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. I shall not come to you today and say that the driving of the liquor traffic from a state will solve all the

ills that humans are heir to. Not all the ills of humanity are due either to the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. If this resolution should carry and the requisite number of states ratify it to make it binding on all the states of the Union, there would still be questions to solve that would require the best thought of the best men and women of the land to find a solution for. But, Mr. Chairman, while I do not contend that liquor is the basis of all evil, I am convinced that no permanent or lasting good can come to a people either from the manufacture of or the traffic in an article that brings benefit to none and brings harm to so many. Feeling this way about it I shall not hesitate to cast my vote for this resolution.

I have heard some contend that Prohibition is a failure in the states that have tried it, and it is of this that I desire to address my few remarks today. There is not an argument of the opponents to Prohibition in states where it has been tried that will, in my opinion, stand the test of reason. There is no evidence anywhere that Prohibition has been a failure in the state of Kansas. I have heard some contend that there is more liquor consumed in states having Prohibition than there is in states which do not have it. If that statement needed any argument to refute it, the argument could be found in the bitter fight that the liquor interests make against Prohibition everywhere, and no one is ready to believe that they are anxious to curtail their output or reduce the consumption of their commodity. I know that no fair man who is informed will contend that the law has increased the consumption of liquor in the state that I am proud to call my home.

In Kansas we have a law which requires the agents of common carriers, such as the railroad and express companies, to furnish the names of the consignee and the amount consigned to the county clerk of each county, and I am persuaded that these companies are very careful to obey this law. This gives a very accurate accounting of the amount of liquor consumed in the state. By this record we find that the amount of intoxicating liquors shipped into the state last year averaged less than \$1.50 for each adult male citizen of the state, while other states have an average of \$30 per capita.

Kansas is not ashamed of her prohibitory law nor of the progress that she has made in that third of a century which this has been a part of the fundamental law of the land. She

has Prohibition, and along with it she has some other things that her citizens, no matter where you find them, are proud to enumerate.

She has but half the population of Missouri and has twice the number of students in her state university.

She has more than twice the population of Colorado, and she has fewer prisoners in her state penitentiary.

She has twenty-nine counties without an inmate in a poor-house and eighteen counties without a poorhouse.

Her entire state debt is less than 20 cents for each man, woman and child, and she has half that amount laid away in her vaults in cash, waiting for the debt to come due.

Her agricultural and livestock crop alone this year will reach the stupendous sum of \$620,000,000.

Last year she sold over \$25,000,000 worth of eggs and butter, and this year she raised 160,000,000 bushels of wheat.

While she spent less than \$1.50 last year for liquor per capita, she spent over \$15,000,000 to educate the 400,000 boys and girls that wend their way to the common schools of that great commonwealth. The state of Kansas is not ashamed of the fact that 80 per cent of these boys and girls never saw a saloon or a place where intoxicating liquors were legally sold.

Kansas comes to you today with no apologies for those laws that you who are not in sympathy with Prohibition are pleased to term sumptuary laws.

On the 3d day of last November her citizens, men and women, to the number of 528,000, went to the polls and cast a ballot for governor, and only 1 out of every 11 voted for the candidate on a resubmission platform.

We of Kansas, where the storm over Prohibition has ceased to rage, have met and in our honest opinion defeated every contention as to the abolishing the sale and manufacture of liquor, bringing want and squalor to the threshold of the laboring man. We have tried it, and we know that it is not true. Our laboring men and our business men have long since ceased to contend that the man who spends 40 cents out of every dollar that he earns over the bar for strong drink thereby helps himself or helps legitimate business of every kind. We know that every dollar that goes for strong drink is just one dollar less with which to buy food and raiment that adds to the happiness of himself and his family.

A folder sent out by some one who is interested in the defeat of this resolution came to my notice a day or so ago, which says that if you legislate to do away with the jobs of the fellows who work in the breweries and the distilleries it will cause these men great hardship, and they will not be able to support their families and buy their share of the food and clothing that is necessary for them. This is a very legitimate argument were it sound, but to our mind it is by no means unanswerable. It may for a time make a little readjustment necessary, but if the money that men spend for drink was spent for additional food and clothing it would create an additional demand for these articles which would demand additional labor in their production, and the man who is now employed in these industries would find that his services were in demand in other and in our opinion more fruitful lines.

In the transitory period from high license to enforced Prohibition in Kansas many towns with 2,000 inhabitants allowed, through a system of fines, which amounted to high license, the running of places where liquor was sold. It was necessary so long as these "blind tigers" were tolerated to have a considerable police force, and to many of them it never occurred that with the driving out of the saloon would go the necessity of much of their police protection. These places were allowed to run in some places because the business men thought the revenue to pay all this police force would necessarily be placed upon them, and they were willing to tolerate the saloon in order, as they thought, to escape the tax. Later, when public sentiment demanded a better enforcement of the law, they in many instances found that with the going of the "blind tiger" there went also much of the necessity for additional expense. It is not an unknown thing in Kansas today to see towns of 2,000 people where once three police officers were thought to be necessary now getting along with one, and this one finds his duties limited largely to supervising street improvement, moving the garbage from the back alleys, and enforcing the ordinance prohibiting chickens and pigs from running at large.

Today we issue this challenge and feel free in so doing: We dare you to find a community in the state of Kansas where the abolishing of the sale and manufacture of liquor has permanently increased the taxes raised in other ways, where it

has increased the crime in the community or contention among its citizens, where it has increased want and misery among her people or has made it more difficult for men to reap a recompense for their honest endeavor. I know little about the workings of Prohibition elsewhere, but when those who are opposed to the principle desire to point out a place where Prohibition has been a failure you must leave Kansas out of your calculations.

You who are here today honest in the belief that you should defeat this measure should understand that you are standing at the ocean's ledge fighting to beat back the tide that is sure to engulf you. You perhaps may defeat it today, but you can hardly hope to make your victory a permanent one, for somewhere and somehow there will always come enough recruits to every cause which involves the highest ideals of a free people to beat down the battlements of wrong.

I am glad to speak today for the splendid commonwealth of Prohibition, Kansas. A half million boys and girls tread her highways who never saw a place where liquor was legally sold and a hundred thousand of them never saw a drunken man nor do they know the taste of liquor. The older generations are not entirely free from the baneful effects of the liquor habit; but from the loins of that mighty people there is coming into maturity a new generation free from the tyranny of its hurtful reign. May it please God that with the coming of another generation we may not only appreciate the benign influence of state-wide Prohibition, but may we hope that glad day will find no place where a licensed grogshop may find lodgment under the protecting folds of the national flag. For this we dare to hope, for this we dare to pray, for this we dare to vote.

Report of the President's Homes Commission. p. 236.

Total Alcoholic Drink Bill

Bringing together the quantities of liquors consumed, estimated at the retail cost on the basis of previous reports, it is shown that the American people spent for alcoholic stimulants for the year ending June 30, 1907:

Beer	\$ 843,333,829
Whisky (exclusive of quantity used in arts) ...	118,456,091
Grand total, 1907	1,466,544,327
1906	1,450,855,448
1905	1,325,439,074
1904	1,277,727,190
1903	1,242,943,118
1902	1,172,565,235
1901	1,094,644,155
1900	1,059,563,787
1899	973,589,080

We must leave to students of social economy the question of a great nation spending an average of over one and one-half billions annually for stimulating beverages; a sum about as great as the appropriations of the congress for a session. Nearly double as much per capita is spent for drink as is spent for the maintenance of public schools. It nearly equals the value of exports of merchandise per capita. It is double the amount of the public debt. It is more than the farm value of the corn crop, which exceeds 2,500,000,000 bushels; three times the value of the wheat grown; more than double the worth of the cotton crop. The indirect cost is beyond estimate, and so great is the waste and misery created that states are fighting the evil and endeavoring to banish the saloon as a distributing factor. It is easily the foremost question of the day, and places the support of a big navy or army in the shade.

Brief Excerpts

Alcoholism in either of the parents is one of the most fruitful causes of crime in the child.—*Havelock Ellis in "The Criminal,"* p. 97.

The baleful influence of alcohol is one of the best known and most transparent causes of crime.—*Prof. Aschaffenburg in "Crime and Its Repression,"* p. 69.

All labor expended in producing strong drink is utterly unproductive; it adds nothing to the wealth of the community.—*Adam Smith in "The Wealth of Nations."*

If I could, I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth.—*The late P. M. Arthur, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.*

The history of heredity conducts us to alcoholism, and these

two should be considered the principal causes of degeneration.—*Dr. Jules Morel in American Journal of Sociology*. 5:81. Jl. '99.

The liquor traffic is responsible for nine-tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing that could come to them.—*Terence V. Powderly*.

It is likely that alcohol, as a predisposing or as an immediate cause, is responsible for more than a third of all admissions to our hospitals for the insane.—*Dr. Rosenau in "Preventive Medicine and Hygiene,"* p. 301.

Massachusetts prison statistics show that 96 per cent of all criminals in our prisons in 1912 were intemperate by habit.—*From the Report of the Commission to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts, January, 1914,* p. 10.

Nothing could show more clearly what gives the immediate impulse to assault and battery than the fact that two-thirds of all fights take place in, or in front of, a public house.—*Prof. Aschaffenburg in "Crime and Its Repression,"* p. 79.

Neal Dow quotes William E. Gladstone as saying, "We have suffered more in our time from intemperance than from war, pestilence, and famine combined—those three great scourges of mankind."—*North American Review*. 139:179. Aug. '84.

Prohibition, or at least limiting the manufacture of intoxicating liquors is not only a simple and efficacious means of curbing intemperance in the people, but it is the only way it can be done.—*Prof. Guglielmo Ferrero in Pittsburgh Post, May 23,* '15.

A careful scientist has called alcohol the indispensable vehicle of the business transacted by the white slave traders, and has asserted that without its use this trade could not long endure.—*Jane Addams, in "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil,"* p. 188.

It is unquestioned that, in most countries, the worst sufferings inflicted upon women, children, and dumb animals are perpetrated under the influence of strong drink, for this is provocative of both cruelty and lust.—*William Tallack in "Penological Principles,"* p. 296.

In the year 1834 a Parliamentary Committee on Intemperance reported that the national loss of productive labor through intemperance amounted to £50,000,000 per annum, and was equal to the loss of one day's labor in six.—*John Newton in "Our National Drink Bill,"* p. 115.

If I could have my way, I would wipe out every saloon. The saloon is the prolific source of nine-tenths of the misery, wretchedness, and crime, and is, more than we know, responsible for the social evil.—*Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, as quoted in New York Voice, January 16, 1896.*

Hitherto whisky and brandy have figured officially as "drugs" in the U. S. Pharmacopœia, which is the authoritative list of medicinal preparations recognized by physicians. This list is now in process of revision, and the committee in charge have voted to remove whisky and brandy from it.—*Literary Digest* 51: 246. *Ag.* 7, '15.

Intemperance is a proximate cause of a very large proportion of the crime committed in America. Fully three-fourths of all the prisoners with whom I have personally conversed in different parts of the country admitted that they were addicted to an excessive use of alcoholic liquors.—*E. C. Wines in "State of Prisons," p. 113.*

We are fighting Germany, Austria, and drink, and so far as I can see the greatest of these three deadly foes is drink. I have a growing conviction, based on accumulating evidence, that nothing but root and branch methods would be of the slightest avail in dealing with the evil.—*David Lloyd-George, quoted in American newspapers, Mr. 30, '15.*

The strongest indictment against alcohol is that it excites the passions and at the same time diminishes the will power. The fact that alcohol lowers moral tone does much more harm than all the cirrhotic livers, hardened arteries, shrunken kidneys, inflamed stomachs, and other lesions believed to be caused by its excessive use.—*Dr. Rosenau in "Preventive Medicine and Hygiene, p. 58.*

We have attributed the abnormal increase of criminality and pauperism in the United States largely to an increase of intemperance. Alcoholic drink is estimated to be the direct or indirect cause of 75 per cent of all the crimes committed, and of at least 50 per cent of all the sufferings endured on account of poverty, in this country and among civilized nations.—*H. M. Boise in "Prisoners and Paupers," p. 137.*

Prohibition is not a new rule although from the nature of things, it is the only one which can result in prevention and destroy the traffic. Its imperfect application is the only possible reason for failure, and it is singular reasoning which demands

the abandonment of the best remedy in disease because it has not been administered to the patient.—*Senator Henry W. Blair in "The Temperance Movement,"* p. 360.

The result of medical inspection in the schools of New York has revealed the fact that 53 per cent of the children of alcoholic parents are "dullards," as compared with 10 per cent of the children of abstainers. Researches on animals which had small quantities of alcohol administered in their food prove decisively that the hereditary factor in alcoholism is not imaginary.—*Dr. Bryce in "The Laws of Life and Health,"* p. 105.

The committee finds that the chief direct cause of the downfall of women and girls is the close connection between alcoholic drink and commercialized vice. Women obtain liquor in palm gardens, wine rooms, saloons, and dance halls. To these places they are frequently taken by their companions and given liquor until their senses are deadened, after which the evil design sought is accomplished. After the first offense the career of a woman is apt to be downward at a rapid rate.—*Report of the Wisconsin Vice Committee* (1914), p. 98.

In the Commission's consideration and investigation of the social evil, it found as the most conspicuous and important element in connection with the same, next to the house of prostitution itself, was the saloon, and the most important financial interest, next to the business of prostitution was the liquor interest. As a contributory influence to immorality and the business of prostitution there is no interest so dangerous and so powerful in the city of Chicago.—*The Social Evil in Chicago* [Report of the Vice Commission of Chicago, 1911]. p. 119.

Twenty per cent of all cases of insanity, and more than half of the cases of suicide, owe their origin to alcohol. Where the use of alcohol is prohibited the number of arrests for crime at once falls. During the recent terrible earthquake at San Francisco all places for the sale of alcohol were closed, and, despite the prevailing conditions of social anarchy, the average daily number of arrests for crime was only three. The very day the saloons were opened no less than seventy people were arrested, and this number was much increased on subsequent days.—*Dr. Alexander Bryce in "The Laws of Life and Health,"* p. 105.

The liquor cranks are excited because the anti-booze agitation threatens "properties valued in the aggregate at perhaps \$2,000,000,000." It may comfort them to reflect that this "per-

haps" total of theirs is almost exactly one ninety-fourth of the estimated wealth of the United States. But it causes an altogether disproportionate part of the total crime, disease, suffering, and waste with which our country is afflicted. The rest of us pay mighty heavy taxes in all these ways to keep up their "values." Booze wealth is the most selfish, tyrannous, and wooden-headed form of property known to our civilization, and it ought to be possible to scale its fraction down (and out) with perfect safety and great gain. Why should a minor interest be a major nuisance?—*Editorial. Collier's Weekly. 54: 14 Jl. 3, '15.*

NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

McClure's Magazine. 31: 438-44. August, 1908.

Prohibition and Social Psychology. Hugo Münsterberg.

If a German stands up to talk about Prohibition, he might just as well sit down at once, for every one in America, of course, knows beforehand what he is going to say. Worse, every one knows also exactly why he is so anxious to say it: how can he help being on the wrong side of this question? And especially if he has been a student in Germany, he will have brought the drinking habit along with him from the Fatherland, together with his cigar smoking and card playing and duelling. If a poor man relies on his five quarts of heavy Munich beer a day, how can he ever feel happy if he is threatened with no license in his town and with no beer in his stein? Yet my case seems slightly different. I never in my life played cards, I never fought a duel, and when the other day in a large women's college, after an address and a reception, the lady president wanted to comfort me and suggested that I go into the next room and smoke a cigar, I told her frankly that I could do it if it were the rule in her college, but that it would be my first cigar. With beer it is different: Last winter in traveling I was for some days the guest of an Episcopal clergyman, who, anticipating the visit of a German, had set up a bottle of excellent beer as a welcome, and we drank together the larger part of the bottle—but I think that is my only case in late years. When I had to attend a Students' "Commerz," I was always protected by the thick mug through which no one could discover that the contents never became less during the evening. I live most comfortably in a pleasant temperance town which will, I hope, vote no-license year by year as long as freshmen stroll over the old Harvard Yard. And although I have become pretty much Americanized I have never drunk a cocktail.

The problem of Prohibition, thus, does not affect my thirst, but it greatly interests my scientific conscience; not as a German, but as a psychologist I feel impelled to add a word to the dis-

cussion which is suddenly reverberating over the whole country. But is it really a discussion which we hear? Is it not rather a one-sided denunciation of alcohol, repeated a million times with louder and louder voice, an outcry ever swelling in its vehemence? On the other side there may be the protests of the distillers and brewers and wine-growers and bottle-makers and saloon-keepers, and perhaps some timid declarations of thirsty societies—but such protests do not count, since they have all the earmarks of selfishness; they are ruled out, and no one listens, just as no one would consult the thieves if a new statute against pickpockets were planned. So far as the really disinterested public is concerned, the discussion is essentially one-sided. If serious men like Cardinal Gibbons raise their voices in a warning against Prohibition, they are denounced and overborne, and no one cares to imitate them.

The Fundamental Evil of American Public Opinion

It has been seldom indeed that the fundamental evil of American public opinion has come out so clearly; namely, that no one dares to be on the unpopular side; just as in fashion and social life, every one wants to be "in it." No problem has in America a fair hearing as soon as one side has become the fashion of mind. Only the cranks come out with an unbalanced, exaggerated opposition and thus really help the cause they want to fight against. The well-balanced thinkers keep quiet and simply look on while the movement rushes forward, waiting quietly for the reaction which sets in from the inner absurdity of every social extreme. The result is too often an hysterical zig-zag movement, where fearlessness might have found a middle way of steady progress. There must be indeed a possible middle way between the evil of the present saloon and the not lesser evil of a future national Prohibition; yet if this one-sidedness of discussion goes on, it is not difficult to foresee, after the legislative experiences of the last year, that the hysterical movement will not stop until Prohibition is proclaimed from every statehouse between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Exaggerated denunciation of the Prohibition movement is, of course, ineffective. Whoever simply takes sides with the saloon-keeper and his clientèle—yes, whoever is blind to the colossal harm which alcohol has brought and is now bringing to the whole country—is unfit to be heard by those who have the healthy and

sound development of the nation at heart. The evils which are connected with the drinking habit are gigantic; thousands of lives and many more thousands of households are the victims every year; disease and poverty and crime grow up where alcohol drenches the soil. To deny it means to ignore the teachings of medicine and economics and criminology.

But is this undeniable fact really a proof of the wisdom of Prohibition? The railroads of the United States injured last year more than 100,000 persons and put out 7,000 hopeful lives; does any sane man argue that we ought to abolish railroads? The stock exchange has brought in the last year economic misery to uncounted homes, but even at the height of the panic no one wanted to destroy the market for industrial stocks. How much crime and disaster and disease and ruin have come into the lives of American youth through women, and yet who doubts that women are the blessing of the whole national life? To say that certain evils come from a certain source suggests only to fools the hasty annihilation of the source before studying whether greater evils might not result from its destruction, and without asking whether the evils might not be reduced, and the good from the same source remain untouched and untampered with. Even if a hollow tooth aches, the modern dentist does not think of pulling it; that would be the remedy of the clumsy village barber. The evils of drink exist, and to neglect their cure would be criminal, but to rush on to the conclusion that every vineyard ought therefore to be devastated is unworthy of the logic of a self-governing nation. The other side has first to show its case.

"Better England Free Than England Sober!"

This does not mean that every argument of the other side is valid. In most of the public protestations, especially from the Middle West, far too much is made of the claim that all the Puritanic laws and the whole prohibitionist movement are an interference with personal liberty. It is an old argument, indeed, "Better England free than England sober." For public meetings it is just the kind of protest which resounds well and rolls on nobly. We are at once in the midst of the "most sacred" rights. Who desires that America, the idol of those who seek freedom from the tyranny of the old world, shall trample on the right of personal liberty? And yet those hundreds of singing-societies which have joined in this outburst of moral indignation have

— forgotten that every law is a limitation of personal liberty. The demand of the nation must limit the demands of the individual, even if it be not the neighbor, but the actor himself who is directly hurt. No one wants to see the lottery, gambling-houses or free sale of morphine and cocaine permitted, or slavery, even though a man were to offer himself for sale, or polygamy, even though all wives should consent. To prevent temptation toward ruinous activities is truly the state's best right, and no injury to personal liberty. The German reflects gladly how much more the German state apparently intrudes upon personal freedom: for instance, in its splendid state insurance for old age and accidents.

To be sure, from this German viewpoint it is hard to understand why the right of the state to subordinate personal wishes to national ones should not carry with it a duty to make compensation. To him the actions of some southern states appear simply as the confiscation of property. When, as has happened, a captain of industry erects, for instance, a most costly brewery, and the state in the following year prohibits the sale of beer, turning the large, new establishment into a huge, useless ruin, without giving the slightest compensation, the foreigner stands aghast, wondering if tomorrow a party which believes in the state ownership of railroads may not prohibit railroading by private companies without any payment to the present owners.

Yet the political aspect does not concern the social psychologist. I abstract from it as from many others. There is, indeed, no limit to the problems which ought to be studied more seriously before such a gigantic revolution is organized. The physician may ask whether and when alcohol is real medicine, and the physiologist may study whether it is a food and whether it is rightly taken as helpful to nutrition; but this is not our problem. The theologians may quarrel as to whether the Bible praises the wine or condemns the drinker, whether Christ really turned water into that which we call wine, and whether Christianity as such stands for abstinence. It is matter for the economist to ask what will become of the hundred thousands of men who are working today in the breweries and related industries. A labor union claims that "over half a million men would be thrown out of employment by general Prohibition, who, with their families, would make an army of a million human beings robbed of their means of existence." And the economist, again, may consider what it might mean to take out the license taxes from the city

budgets and the hundreds of millions of internal revenue from the budget of the whole country. It is claimed that the brewers, maltsters, and distillers pay out for natural and manufactured products, for labor, transportation, etc., \$700,000,000 annually; that their aggregate investments foot up to more than three thousand millions; and that their taxes contribute \$350,000,000 every year to the public treasuries. Can the country afford to ruin an industry of such magnitude? Such weighty problems cannot be solved in the Carrie Nation style: yet they are not ours here.

The Lonely Drinker of the Temperance Town

Nearer to our psychological interest comes the well-known war-cry, "Prohibition does not prohibit." It is too late in the day to need to prove it by statistics: every one knows it. No one has traveled in Prohibition states who has not seen the sickening sight of drunkards of the worst order. The drug-stores are turned into very remunerative bars, and through hidden channels whisky and gin flood the community. The figures of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue tell the story publicly. In a license state like Massachusetts, there exists one retail liquor dealer for every 525 of population; in a Prohibition state like Kansas, one for every 366. But the secret story is much more alarming. What is the effect? As far as the health of the nation and its mental training in self-control and in regulation of desires are concerned, the result must be dangerous, because, on the whole, it eliminates the mild beverages in favor of the strong drinks and substitutes lonely drinking for drinking in social company. Both are psychologically and physiologically a turn to the worse. It is not the mild beer and light wine which are secretly imported; it is much easier to transport and hide whisky and rum, with their strong alcoholic power and stronger effect on the nerve-cells of the brain. And of all forms of drinking none is more ruinous than the solitary drink, as soon as the feeling of repugnance has been overcome; there is no limit and no inhibition. If I look back over the last years, in which I often studied the effects of suggestion and hypnotism on habitual drinkers, I do not hesitate to say that it was in most cases an easy thing to cure the social drinker of the large cities, but very hard to break the lonely drinker of the temperance town. Of course, Prohibition reduces somewhat the whole quantity of

consumption, but it withdraws the stimulant, in most cases, where it would do the least harm and intensifies the harm to the organism where it is most dangerous.

Our Greatest Danger—Disregard for Law

But man is not only a nervous system. Prohibition forced by a majority on an unwilling minority will always remain a living source of the spirit of disregard for law. Yet, "unwilling" minority is too weak an epithet; the question is of a minority which considers the arbitrary rule undemocratic, absurd, immoral, and which really believes that it is justified in finding a way around a contemptible law.

Judges know how rapidly the value of the oath sinks in courts where violation of the Prohibition laws is a frequent charge, and how habitual perjury becomes tolerated by respected people. The city politicians know still better how closely blackmail and corruption hang together, in the social psychology, with the enforcement of laws that strike against the beliefs and traditions of wider circles. The public service becomes degraded, the public conscience becomes dulled. And can there be any doubt that disregard of law is the most dangerous psychological factor in our present-day American civilization? It is not lynch law which is the worst; the crimes against life are twenty times more frequent than in Europe, and as for the evils of commercial life which have raised the wrath of the whole well-meaning nation in late years, has not disregard of law been their real source? In a popular melodrama the sheriff says solemnly: "I stand here for the law"; and when the other shouts in reply, "I stand for common sense!" night after night the public breaks out into jubilant applause. To foster this immoral negligence of law by fabricating hasty, ill-considered laws in a hysterical mood, laws which almost tempt toward a training in violation of them, is surely a dangerous experiment in social psychology.

Are We About to Prohibit Meat and Tea?

Hasty and hysterical that kind of law-making is indeed. Within a few years, during which the situation itself has not been changed, during which no new discoveries have proved the right or necessity, during which no experts have reached common results, the wave has swollen to a devastating flood. Who let it loose? Were the psychologists asked to decide, or the physicians, or the physiologists, or the sociologists, or any one who has

studied the problem as a whole with professional knowledge? Certainly not: their commissions have hardly ever proposed total abstinence. Of course, those who rush on mean the best as they see it; they want to make better men; but can a nation ever hope to reach private morality by law and thus to exclude all private lying and greediness and envy and ingratitude and temper and unfairness just as well as intemperance? Such unclear and vague mixing of purposes always characterizes hysterical legislation. A sober contemplator must ask himself: What is it to lead to if well-meaning, short-sighted dilettantes can force legislation on questions which demand the most serious expert study?

There is growing throughout the land today a conviction—which has its core of truth—that many people eat too much meat; and not a few see a remedy in vegetarianism and Fletcherism. If this prejudice swells in a similar way, the time may come when one state after the other will declare slaughtering illegal, confiscate the meat-packing houses, and prohibit the poisonous consumption of beef and the killing of any creature that can look on us with eyes. Other groups are fighting coffee and tea, and we may finally land in nuts and salads. Yes, according to this line of legislative wisdom, there is no reason for prohibiting only alcohol. Do I go far beyond the facts in asserting that in certain states the same women and men who are publicly against every use of alcohol are also opposed to the “drugs” of the physicians and speak of them privately as poisons? Not the Christian Scientists only—in intellectual Boston thousands of educated women speak of drugs and nervine as belonging to a medieval civilization which they have outgrown. The same national logic may thus lead us to laws which will prohibit every physician from using the resources of the drug store—if they have not all simply to go over to osteopathy.

A Spring Flood of Emotional Legislation

The question of the liquor trade and Temperance—which is so widely different from a hasty Prohibition—has engaged the minds of all times and of all nations, and is studied everywhere today with the means of modern science. But this spring flood of Prohibition legislation which has overrun the states shows few signs of deeper connection with serious study and fewer signs of profit from the experiments of the past. When the Chinese government made laws against intemperance about



1100 B.C., it can hardly have gone more hastily to work than the members of this movement of the twentieth century after Christ. It is unworthy of women and men who want to stand for sobriety to allow themselves to become intoxicated with hysterical outcries, when a gigantic national question is to be solved, a question which can never be solved until it is solved rightly. A wrong decision must necessarily lead to a social reaction which can easily wipe out every previous gain.

Progress is to be hoped for only from the most careful analysis of all the factors of this problem; yet, instead, the nation leaves it to the unthinking, emotional part of the population. In the years of the silver agitation it was a matter of admiration to any foreigner, the wonderful seriousness with which large crowds listened in a hundred towns, evening after evening, to long hours of difficult technical discussion on currency; 16 to 1 was really discussed by the whole nation, and arguments were arrayed against arguments before a decision was reached. Is it necessary that the opposite method be taken as soon as this problem is touched—a question far more complex and difficult than the silver question, and of far more import to the moral habits and the development of the nation? When leading scholars bring real arguments on both sides of the problem, their work is buried in archives, and no one is moved to action. But when a Chicago minister hangs the American flag over his pulpit, fastens a large patch of black color on it, declares that the patch stands for the liquor evil which smirches the country, denounces wildly the men who spend for whisky the money which ought to buy medicine for sick children, and then madly tears the black cloth from the stars and stripes and grinds it under his heel—then thousands rush out as excited as if they had heard a convincing argument. And this superficiality is the more repellent because every glimpse below the surface shows an abundance of cant and hypocrisy and search for cheap fame and sensationalism and still more selfish motives mingled with the whole movement; even the agitation itself, with its threats of ruin, borders too often on graft and blackmail and thus helps to debauch the public life.

Alcohol and the Brain

Those who seriously study, not merely the one or the other symptom, but the whole situation, can hardly doubt that the demand of true civilization is for Temperance and not for absti-

nence, and that complete Prohibition must in the long run work against real Temperance. But nothing is more characteristic of the hysterical caprice of the masses than the constant neglect of this distinction. Even the smallest dose of alcohol is for them nothing but evil, and triumphantly they seize on isolated statements of physiologists who acknowledge that every dose of alcohol has a certain influence on the brain. This is at once given the turn that every glass of beer or wine "muddles" the brain and is therefore a sin against the freedom of man.

Certainly every glass of beer has an influence on the cells of the brain and on the mind; so has every cup of tea or coffee, every bit of work and every amusement, every printed page and every spoken word. Is it certain that the influence is harmful because an overdose of the same stimulants is surely poisonous? Boiling water is most dangerous for the body on account of its strong heat: is a bath in lukewarm water therefore also harmful? To climb Mount Blanc would overtax my heart: is it therefore inadvisable for me to climb the two flights to my laboratory? Of course, under certain conditions it might be wise to take account of the slightest influences. Without being harmful, they might be unsuited to a certain mental purpose. If I were to take a glass of beer now in the morning, I should certainly be unable to write the next page of this essay with the same ease; the ideas would flow more slowly. But does that indicate that I did wrong in taking last night, after a hard day's fatiguing work, a glass of sherry and a glass of champagne at a merry dinner-party, after which nothing but light conversation and music were planned for the rest of the evening? Of course, alcohol before serious intellectual work disturbs me; but hearing a hurdy-gurdy in the street or thinking of the happy news which a letter has just brought to me, or feeling angry over any incident, disturbs me just as much. It is all the same kind of interference; the brain centers which I use for my intellectual effort are for a while inhibited and thus unfit for the work which I have in hand. When the slight anger has evaporated, when the pleasurable excitement has subsided, when the music is over, I can gather my thoughts again, and it is arbitrary to claim that the short blockade of ideas was dangerous, and that I ought to have avoided the music or the pleasure or the wine.

Of course, if we consider, for instance, the prevention of crime, we ought not to forget that some even of these slight

inhibitions may facilitate a rash, vehement deed and check cool deliberation. In times of social excitement, therefore, alcohol ought to be reduced. But again this same effect, as far as the temperate use of alcohol is in question, may result from many other sources of social unrest. The real danger begins everywhere with intemperance: that is, with a lack of that self-discipline which is not learned but lost under the outer force of Prohibition.

The Case Psychologically

Psychologically the case stands thus: alcohol has indeed an inhibitory influence on mind and body. The feeling of excitement, the greater ease of motor impulse, the feeling of strength and joy, the forgetting of sorrow and pain—all are at bottom the result of inhibition; impulses are let free because the checking centers are inhibited. But it is absurd to claim from the start that all this is bad and harmful, as if the word inhibition meant destruction and lasting damage. Harmful it is, bodily and socially, when these changes become exaggerated, when they are projected into such dimensions that vital interests, the care for family and honor and duty are paralyzed; but in the inhibition itself lies no danger. There is not the slightest act of attention which does not involve such inhibition. If I read in my study, the mere attention to my book will inhibit the ticking of the clock in my room and the noise from the street, and no one will call it harmful. As soon as my attention increases, and I read with such passion that I forget my engagements with friends and my duties in my office, I become ridiculous and contemptible. But the fact that the unbalanced attention makes me by its exaggerated inhibition quite unfit for my duties, is no proof that the slight inhibition produced by attentive reading ought to be avoided.

The inhibition by alcohol, too, may have in the right place its very desirable purpose, and no one ought to be terrified by such physiological statements, even if inhibition is called a partial paralysis. Yes, it is partial paralysis, but no education, no art, no politics, no religion, is possible without such partial paralysis. What else are hope and belief and enjoyment and enthusiasm but a re-enforcement of certain mental states, with corresponding inhibition—that is, paralysis—of the opposite ideas? If a moderate use of alcohol can help in this most

useful blockade, it is an ally and not an enemy. If wine can overcome and suppress the consciousness of the little miseries and of the drudgery of life, and thus set free and re-enforce the unchecked enthusiasm for the dominant ideas, if wine can make one forget the frictions and pains and give again the feeling of unity and frictionless power—by all means let us use this helper to civilization. It was a well-known philosopher who coupled Christianity and alcohol as the two great means of mankind to set us free from pain. But nature provided mankind with other means of inhibition; sleep is still more radical, and every fatigue works in the same direction; to inhibit means to help and to prepare for action.

And are those who fancy that every brain alteration is an evil really aware how other influences of our civilization hammer on the neurones and injure our mental powers far beyond the effects of a moderate use of alcohol? The vulgar rag-time music, the gambling of the speculators, the sensationalism of the yellow press, the poker playing of the men and the bridge playing of the women, the mysticism and superstition of the new fancy churches, the hysterics of the baseball games, the fascination of murder cases, the noise on the Fourth of July and on the 364 other days of the year, the wild chase for success; all are poison for the brain and mind. They make the nervous system and the will endlessly more unfit for the duties of the day than a glass of lager beer on a hot summer's evening.

Drying up a Nation Emotionally

What would result if Prohibition should really prohibit, and all the inhibitions which a mild use of beer and wine promise to the brain really be lost? The psychological outcome would be twofold: certain effects of alcohol which serve civilization would be lost; and, on the other hand, much more harmful substitutions would set in. To begin with: the nation would lose its chief means of recreation after work. We know today too well that physical exercise and sport is not real rest for the exhausted brain cells. The American masses work hard throughout the day. The sharp physical and mental labor, the constant hurry and drudgery produce a state of tension and irritation which demands before the night's sleep some dulling inhibition if a dangerous unrest is not to set in. Alcohol relieves that daily tension most directly.

Not less important would be the loss on the emotional side. Emotional desire for a life in beauty would yield to the triviality of usefulness. Puritanism has held back the real American spirit of artistic creation in fine arts and music and drama: Prohibition without substitutes would crush still more the esthetic spirit in the brain of man and would make beauty still more the domain of women. Her more responsive physiological constitution does not need the artificial paralysis of the inhibiting centers. The mind of the average woman shows that lower degree of checking power which small alcoholic doses produce in the average man. But just therefore she and men of the female type cannot carry on alone the work of the nation. A national life without the artificial inhibitions of the restraining centers becomes for the large masses a matter of mere practical calculation and righteous dulness. Truly the German, the Frenchman, the Italian who enjoys his glass of light wine and then wanders joyful and elated to the masterpieces of the opera, serves humanity better than the New Englander who drinks his ice-water and sits satisfied at the vaudeville show, world-far from real art. Better America inspired than America sober. Can we forget that in almost all parts of the globe even religious life began with intoxication cults? God Indra was in the wine for the Hindus and Dionysius for the Greeks. It is the optimistic exuberance of life, the emotional inspiration, which alcohol brought into the dulness of human days, and the history of culture shows it on every page.

But with the emotion dries up the will. Mere righteousness needs no stimulation. But the American nation would never have achieved its world work if the attitude of resignation had been its national trait. Those pioneers who opened the land and awoke to life its resources were men who longed for excitement, for the intensity of life, for vividness of experience. The nation would not be loyal to its tradition if it were not to foster this desire of intense experience: the moderate use of alcohol is both training in such intensified conscious experience and training in the control and discipline of such states. The nation needs both, and as the child learns to prepare for the work of life by plays and games, so man is schooling himself for the active and effective life by the temperate use of exciting beverages which playfully awake those vivid feelings of success. The scholar and the minister and a thousand other individuals may not need this training, but the millions, the masses, cannot prepare themselves

for a national career of effectiveness if this opportunity is taken from their lives. History shows it abundantly.

To be sure, all this is but half true, because, as we said, the individual, and finally the nation, may seek substitutes, may satisfy the craving for emotional excitement, for will elation, for intense experience, by other means than the oldest and most widely scattered. Zealotism in religious belief, tyranny and cruelty, sexual over-indulgence and perversion, gambling and betting, mysticism and superstition, recklessness and adventurousness, and, above all, senseless crimes have always been the psychological means of overcoming the emptiness and monotony of an unstimulated life. They produce, just like alcohol, that partial paralysis and create intense experiences. They thus take hold of the masses, so long as the social mind is not entirely dried up, with the necessity of a psychological law. There is no more dangerous state for a healthy, strong nation than mental monotony in the life of the masses. Catholic countries play to the imagination at least through the religion, monarchic countries have their own picturesqueness and color, America under Prohibition pushes the masses into gambling and reckless excitements and sexual disorder and money-crazes and criminal explosions of the mind.

The Temperance Experiment in Mohammedanism

Has not history experimented sufficiently. Prohibitionist stump speakers may tell us that their cause means the hitherto unheard-of progress of civilization; the United States, after abolishing slavery for mankind, is called on to end also the tyranny of alcohol under which humanity has suffered for ages. But are there not 200,000,000 of Moslems who are obedient to Mohammed's law, that wine drinking is sinful? What is the outcome? Of course, it is not inspiring to hear the boast of the Moslems that the Christians bring whisky to Africa and bestialize the natives, while the Mohammedans fight alcohol. But aside from this, their life goes on in slavery and polygamy and semi-civilization. All the strong nations, all those whose contributions were of lasting value to the progress of mankind, have profited from the help of artificial stimulation and intoxicants.

But every strong nation remained also conscious of the dangers and evils which result from intemperance. On the whole, history shows that intemperance and abstinence alike

work against the highest interests of civilization; temperance alone offers the most favorable psychological conditions for the highest cultural achievement. Intemperance mostly precedes the strongest periods in the life of a nation and follows them again as soon as decay has set in. Temperance, that is, sufficient use of intoxicants to secure emotional inspiration and volitional intensity, together with sufficient training in self-discipline to avoid their evils, always introduced the fullest blossoming of national greatness. Instinctively the American nation as a whole is evidently striving for such temperance, but a hysterical minority has at present succeeded in exaggerating the movement and in transforming it into its caricature, Prohibition. The final result, of course, will be Temperance, since the American nation will not ultimately allow itself to become an emasculated nation of dyspeptic ice-water drinkers without inspiration and energy, or permit vulgar amusements, reckless stock-gambling, sensationalism, adultery, burglary, and murder to furnish the excitement which the nerves of a healthy nation need.

The Securing of Temperance

How temperance can be secured, the experiences of the older nations with a similar psychological type of national mind ought to be decisive. First of all, the beverages of strongly alcoholic nature ought to be fought by those of light alcoholic effect. The whisky of the laborers must be fought by light healthy beer and perhaps by light American wines. Further, a systematic education in self-control must set in; the drunkard must not be tolerated under any circumstances. Above all, the social habits in the sphere of drinking must be entirely reshaped. They belong to a period where the Puritan spirit considered beer and wine as sinful and relegated them to regions hidden from decent eyes. The American saloon is the most disgusting product of such narrowness; its dangers for politics and law, health and economics, are alarming. The saloon must disappear and can be made to disappear perhaps by higher license taxation and many other means. And with it must disappear the bar and the habit of drinking standing and of mutual treating. The restaurant alone, with the hotel and the club, is the fit public place where guests sitting at tables may have beer and wine with their meals or after meals—and all controlled by laws which absolutely forbid the sale of intoxicants to certain

groups of persons, to children, to inebriates, and so on. As long as drinking means to the imagination of a considerable well-meaning minority of the nation the present-day repulsive life of saloons and bars, the minority will find it easy to terrorize and to whip into line the whole country. But if those relics of a narrow time disappear and customs grow which spread the spirit of geniality and friendly social intercourse over the foaming cup, the spell will be broken. Instead of being tyrannized over by short-sighted fanatics on the one side and corrupt saloon-keepers on the other, the nation will proceed with the unanimous sympathy of the best citizens to firm temperance laws which the sound instinct of the masses will really respect. Training in self-control as against recklessness, training in harmless hilarity and social enjoyment as against mere vulgar excitement and rag-time pleasures, training in respect for law as against living under hysterical rules which cannot be executed and which invite blackmail, corruption, and habitual disregard of laws—these are indeed the most needed influences on the social mind of the country.

Williams, Dr. Edward H. Question of Alcohol

Chap. V. What Shall We Do about It? Dr. Henry S. Williams

The scientific tests of recent years have shown us pretty definitely what alcohol does to the human body. It becomes an increasingly important question as to what humankind can do to alcohol.

There is a general impression that our ancestors of two or three generations ago were very heavy drinkers and that the use of alcohol in our generation is on the decline. Unfortunately, statistics do not support the latter impression.

It appears that in 1850 the annual per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages in the United States was 4.08 gallons; in 1860 it had risen to 6.43 gallons; in 1870 to 7.70 gallons; in 1880 to 10.08 gallons; in 1890 to 15.53 gallons; in 1900 to 17.76 gallons; in 1910 to 22.19 gallons; and in 1913 to more than 23 gallons.

Seemingly, then, the average American in 1913 consumed

¹ An address delivered at the National Conference on Race Betterment, at Battle Creek, Michigan, January 10, 1914, by Dr. Henry Smith Williams.

more than five times as much liquor as did the average American of the year 1850.

Stated in the boldest and simplest terms, that appears to be the net result of sixty years of effort to combat alcohol.

Legislative Control of the Liquor Traffic

The facts just presented are independent of any theory as to the control of the liquor traffic. They are simply facts as to production and consumption of alcoholic beverages.

But it is not without pertinence to consider these facts in relation to the legislative efforts that have been made to control the liquor traffic. The most important of these legislative efforts is known to every one as the Prohibition movement.

In 1880 Kansas incorporated Prohibition in its state constitution by public vote. Maine followed four years later, and North Dakota in 1890. These three states have remained loyal to the Prohibition laws throughout the intervening period.

The new wave of interest in state-wide Prohibition which has made itself felt within very recent years manifested itself in the South—the region that had not tried it before. Georgia and Oklahoma legislated state-wide Prohibition in 1907; followed in 1908 by Mississippi and in 1909 by North Carolina and Tennessee.

In South Carolina an attempt to control the liquor traffic was made by the passage of a dispensary law, through which the liquor traffic was put in the hands of the county authorities, as long ago as 1892.

Liquor legislation in the remaining states has chiefly taken the form of local option laws. So many communities have local option in some of their counties or cities that the total population under "dry" territory at the present time is estimated at not short of 40,000,000 people.

It should be understood, however, that the "Prohibition" laws do not necessarily bar the shipment of liquor into "dry" territory, even though it may not legally be re-sold there. To illustrate this, let me cite facts as to the official shipment of liquor into two regions, one of them in Kansas, a state that has been under general Prohibition for thirty-three years, the other in North Carolina, where Prohibition has been on the statute books since 1909.

The Mahin liquor law, passed by the most recent legislature

in Kansas, requires railroad and express companies to file reports of all intoxicants shipped into the state. Examination of the files in the office of the county clerk of Shawnee County, in which the city of Topeka is located, shows that in the month of September, 1913, the shipment of liquor officially reported amounted to 95,561 quarts, of which 90,062 quarts were received in Topeka—a city of 45,000 inhabitants—just half a gallon for each man, woman and child. It is reported that the little town of Tecumseh, with a population of less than 100, received 1,627 quarts—equivalent to 48 gallons per capita per annum.

As to the North Carolina community, the facts I would cite relate to the town of Asheville. A recent investigation showed that there was shipped into Asheville by express, in gallon lots, no less than 4,000 gallons of distilled liquor in a period of ten days. This is equivalent to 1 gallon per family for the entire community—in ten days. Yet there is not a saloon operating in Asheville.

In the same connection it may be of interest to consider the operation of the dispensary law of South Carolina. The published notice calling for bids for liquor issued by the Dispensary Board of Barnwell County, December 10, 1913, chances to be before me.

It appears that the call is made for 4,610 barrels of distilled spirits, and for only 576 barrels of bottled ale and beer—the beer being deliverable in pint bottles.

The population of Barnwell County in 1910 was 34,209. As the population had decreased about 1,300 in the preceding decade, we may fairly assume that the present population is not more than 35,000. On this basis the distilled liquor called for amounts to slightly over 4 gallons per capita. Meantime, the beer and ale amount to only 1 quart per capita.

The influence of the dispensary law in promoting the consumption of ardent spirits and diminishing that of the malted beverages would seem to be very pronounced.

In general, it would appear that if our legislators of recent years had been in league with the distiller they could not have served his purpose better.

Express Traffic into Prohibition Territory

As further illustrating the general effect of recent legislation, the finding of an investigation conducted by the Interstate Com-

merce Commission, decision on which was rendered June 20, 1911, has interest and significance.

The investigation grew out of complaints about express charges. The commission, in filing its report, made comment on the growth of the mail-order liquor business. This business, it is stated, had its beginning about a quarter of a century ago. "At that time it was of small proportions, very few packages being shipped, and those only to a short distance. It was the spread of the Prohibition movement that gave vitality to this character of traffic in liquor."

The report goes on to state that as local option drove the dealers from localities where they had carried on retail business, they settled on the outskirts of the proscribed territory and shipped liquor into it. As the prohibitive areas spread the shippers were driven farther and farther back, but their business covered wider territories and increased largely in volume. With state-wide Prohibition came the interstate traffic in liquor.

The report states that it is impossible to determine with entire accuracy the extent of the business, but it makes an estimate, based on figures presented by the Southern Express Company, and reaches the conclusion that "the entire volume of this traffic, going entirely to consumers and not to dealers, is in excess of 20,000,000 gallons per year."

It is stated that the largest shipping point for liquor in the South is Jacksonville, Fla., which "sends out between 3,000 and 4,000 packages of 1 to 2 gallons daily, or a total of about 1,500,000 gallons a year. Chattanooga ships about 786,000 gallons; Richmond, 546,720 gallons; Petersburg, 268,128; Pensacola, 267,760; New Orleans, 255,856; Augusta, 215,150; and Norfolk, Va., Cairo, Ill., Emporia, Va., Louisville, Ky., Portsmouth, Va., Roanoke, Va., and Savannah, Ga., ship more than 100,000 gallons each annually. The total annual amount indicated in this restricted area, almost entirely from three or four states in the South, is 6,085,264 gallons."

It is of peculiar interest to note that three of the chief shipping points, including Chattanooga with its shipment of 786,000 gallons, are themselves located in Prohibition territory.

A further comment of the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission is of sinister significance:

The movement is much more active in the South than in other sections of the country, partly because of the extent of the Prohibition territory in

that section, partly because of the large quantities of very cheap whisky manufactured and shipped there for the consumption of the negro population. While it is not the function of this commission to be influenced in its conclusions by the moral aspect of the question, it is impossible not to recognize in this traffic one of the important factors in the race problem of the South—the evil spirit back of that problem in more ways than one.

This very significant finding of the Interstate Commerce Commission may be supplemented by the results of recent investigations which show a very rapid increase in the use of drugs, notably cocaine, in Prohibition territory in the South. The negroes and poor whites who are unable to secure money enough to send for liquor, or who have not intelligence and enterprise enough to do so, find substitutes in various patent medicines, and in particular in the use of cocaine, which is peddled in pill-boxes by newsboys, and otherwise distributed through numberless underground channels.

This rapid extension of the use of narcotic drugs in the Prohibition states of the South is another complication back of the race problem. Legislation that has led, however unintentionally, to such results, is of very doubtful utility.

Why Prohibition Fails

The simple fact is that legislation covering such a topic as this has no significance except as it is supported by the opinion of an intelligent majority in the community. And this principle in itself sufficiently explains the failure of state-wide Prohibition wherever it has been tried.

It may well be doubted whether there is or has been at any time a state in the Union in which a majority of the voting population were abstainers from the use of alcohol or believers in Prohibition as applied to themselves.

Prohibition laws have been passed because a voting majority of the citizens have thought it desirable to close the saloons, hoping thereby to restrict the sale of liquor to the comparatively small but very obnoxious minority who are made mentally and morally aberrant by its use.

In the southern states, in particular, it is scarcely pretended that a large proportion of the population has any intention or desire to abstain from the use of alcohol. The thought is simply that by passing prohibitory laws it may be possible to keep liquor from the poor whites and negroes. Care is taken to have the laws so framed that the more intelligent and prosperous

members of the community shall incur no difficulty in securing whatever liquor they desire.

Insofar as the intention of the Prohibition laws is to keep liquor from individuals who are made a social menace by it, their object is not only justifiable but highly commendable. The fact that such laws constitute class legislation is no valid objection to them, when we consider that the class discriminated against is the one that becomes a menace to society through the use of alcohol.

But the great difficulty is that prohibitory legislation does not, in point of fact, effect the object thus contemplated. The individuals whom it is designed to protect against their own appetites are precisely the ones who refuse to be thus protected. By hook or by crook they will secure alcohol. The legalized channels being closed through which liquor that at least had the merit of purity might have been obtained, surreptitious channels are found through which to secure liquor of inferior quality. If the amount of this is in some cases restricted, its bad quality more than balances the restricted quantity.

Judged by Its Effect

The crucial test of this is found in the records of police courts, prisons, asylums, and almshouses. I have recently made an extensive investigation, the results of which are soon to be published, which has fully convinced me that the net effect of prohibitory legislation is to increase the prevalence of crime (including homicide), insanity, and pauperism. Illicit stills spring up in Prohibition states; liquor of the worst quality is everywhere dispensed surreptitiously; and the easily transported drugs, morphine and cocaine, supplement the effects of the bad liquor.

Whether the investigation is made in Maine and Kansas, which have had state-wide Prohibition for a generation, or in Georgia and the other southern states that have recently come under the alleged "dry" régime, the results are the same—the evil effects of alcohol are demonstrably more in evidence in the Prohibition territory than in surrounding territories where an attempt to control the traffic is carried out along more rational lines.

In Nebraska, for example, where a "sunset closing" law has applied to the saloons for a number of years, the records of police courts, prisons, asylums, and almshouses are all more

favorable than the corresponding records of the contiguous Prohibition state of Kansas.

New York Times. March 25, 1915

Liquor Men's Sweeping Claims

Prohibition states show more poverty, more insanity, more crime, and less church membership than do "wet" states. Such are the claims made by the liquor interests in a statement recently sent to the New York Times. "Prohibition," it is declared, "may prohibit drinking, but it does not prohibit any of the evils of civilization." Official figures, it is insisted, are against the position taken by the Prohibitionists that the banishment of liquor is accompanied by greater prosperity, more religion, fewer crimes, fewer suicides, fewer divorces, less poverty.

The liquor men further claim that analysis of statistics proves it is the rural population which is chiefly in favor of Prohibition, and that the cities are against it. Statistics, it is declared, "would indicate that Prohibition is an issue between the rural and urban population."

It is held by the liquor men that savings accounts give an accurate index of the general prosperity and thrift of a state. It is stated that the report of the Controller of the Currency for 1913 shows that the average savings of each depositor in the savings banks of the United States is \$439.07, and from that report the following comparison is taken between certain "dry" and "wet" states:

Prohibition States

	Average savings
Kansas	\$231.69
Maine	403.01
West Virginia	168.01
North Carolina	171.56
Georgia	239.54
Mississippi	280.97
Tennessee	262.27
North Dakota	207.15
Oklahoma	152.83
Virginia	272.77
Average for 10 "dry" state	\$238.98

License States

	Average savings
New Hampshire	\$468.18
Rhode Island	544.93
New York	545.90
California	523.48
Connecticut	497.02
Michigan	443.36
Montana	522.97
Nevada	781.39
Ohio	356.78
Pennsylvania	423.17

Average for 10 "wet" states \$510.70

As to pauperism, the liquor men say that Census Bulletin 120, "Paupers and Almshouses, 1910," shows that "dry" Maine had 945 paupers and "wet" Rhode Island, the most densely populated state in the Union, had 768; "dry" Kansas, 735 and "wet" Minnesota, with 300,000 more population, 687.

Coming to insanity, the liquor men state:

Kansas had 2,912 insane patients in her institutions at the beginning of 1910, and admitted 905 during that year. Nebraska, her next door "wet" neighbor, had 1,990 at the beginning of 1910, and admitted to her institutions 411 during the year, (Census Bulletin 119). On the two counts Prohibition Kansas had 1,000 more insane than license Nebraska.

As to criminality, the liquor interests claim that certain "wet" states show to much better advantage than certain "dry" ones. The number of prisoners and juvenile delinquents in specified states is given as follows for 1910:

Prohibition States

Kansas	1,971
Georgia	5,078
Oklahoma	1,668

License States

Nebraska	789
Ohio	5,979
Arkansas	1,361

The statement says that "Ohio, with double the population of Georgia, has but 900 more prisoners and juvenile delinquents than that Prohibition state." The following comparison is also made:

	"Dry" Kansas	"Wet" Nebraska
Juvenile delinquents	434	133
Prisoners committed for grave homicide.....	94	39
For lesser homicide	98	44
For burglary	259	130
For larceny	495	127
For forgery	87	36
For rape	85	37

The statement of the liquor men continues:

Of the 6,904 murderers confined in the United States for grave homicide, 2,094 were in the fourteen states now known as Prohibition states, and 1,846 of them were in the nine states which had Prohibition before the year 1914. These nine states have less than one-sixth of the population of the United States, but in 1910 they had nearly one-third of the murderers who were confined in the penitentiaries of the country. "Dry" Georgia led the list with 715.

On the question of church membership the table which follows is given, the figures showing the percentage of the population listed as church members in the states named:

Prohibition States

	Per cent
Oklahoma	18.2
Kansas	28.4
Maine	20.8
West Virginia	28.0

License States

	Per cent
New York	43.7
Massachusetts	51.3
Rhode Island	54.0
Pennsylvania	43.0

The statement adds:

Some of the other license states that outrank the prohibition states in church membership by far are Illinois, 38.3 per cent; Ohio, 39.3 per cent; Wisconsin, 44.3 per cent; Louisiana, 50.6 per cent; California, 39.1 per cent.

The liquor men argue that the claims made by the Prohibitionists that 1914 was a banner year for the anti-alcohol cause because five states were added to the "dry" column ignore the fact that the five states they won had much less than one-half the population of the three states they lost, and thus Prohibition was beaten by a big majority when the eight states are grouped. The liquor statement says:

The year 1914 is claimed as the banner year for state-wide Prohibition, because five states were added to the Prohibition column. These states were Virginia, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon and Washington. The Prohibitionists also made campaigns in Ohio, California and Texas, but lost those states by overwhelming majorities. Looking at the campaign of 1914 by state, the Prohibitionists claim a victory of two to one, because they won five states and lost three. Look at the states by population and the Prohibition victory is not so apparent.

The five states carried for Prohibition have a combined population of 4,879,745. The combined population of the three states they lost is 11,041,212. Ohio and California are both urban states, in that the majority of the population in each is urban. Texas is still rural, but in the Texas primaries Prohibition lost. The five Prohibition states are rural, with the exception of Washington, in which the urban and rural population is about equally divided.

The total "dry" majority in the state of Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Virginia and Washington was 100,203. The total "wet" majority in the states of California, Ohio, and Texas was 273,757. The majority of votes against Prohibition in the three states that refused the proposition in 1914 was over twice as large as the majority of votes for the proposition in the five states that adopted Prohibition.

Between 1850 and 1860 fourteen states adopted Prohibition, and between 1880 and 1890 six more states adopted Prohibition, but sixteen of these states afterward repealed the laws. The fourteen states which now have Prohibition are offset by sixteen states which have tried Prohibition and abandoned it as a state-wide policy. Here are the states that have had Prohibition and repealed the Prohibition laws: Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Delaware, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Nebraska, Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, and Alabama.

These states that have tried Prohibition and returned to the license system have a combined population of 38,632,302. Add Texas and California, which rejected Prohibition, and the combined population which has repudiated the idea is 45,058,304. The fourteen states which now have Prohibition laws have a combined population of 19,565,706. If we take states as a whole, as the Prohibitionists do in claiming territory and population living under Prohibition law, whether they like it or not, twice as many people have tried and rejected the nostrum as those who are now trying it, and the growth of the idea is backward as well as forward. As the rural states have become urban, with great cities, great industries, and great commerce, they have abandoned Prohibition as not adapted to their needs in the way of law to be respected and obeyed by the people.

Further, the advocates of stimulants lay much emphasis upon their claim that it is the rural population of the United States which, speaking generally, favors Prohibition, while it is the urban population, also speaking generally, which opposes it. The statement says:

According to Table 28 of the United States Statistical Abstracts, the five "wet" states of California, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas, that

have refused to adopt Prohibition, have an average percentage of urban population amounting to 48.9 per cent. The average urban population in the fourteen "dry" states is but 28.5 per cent. The average per cent of urban population in those states that rejected Prohibition proposals is almost twice the urban population in the present "dry" states.

On Dec. 22, 1914, the Hobson amendment providing for national Prohibition was defeated in the House of Representatives. The significance of the vote in the House is the division of the vote according to population. Of the 197 members who voted for the Hobson resolution, 129 were from towns of less than 10,000 population, and 64 of these from villages not given in the census report of places having 2,500 population and more. There were 26 more from cities of less than 25,000 population, and 19 from cities of between 25,000 and 50,000; 10 from cities of over 50,000 and less than 100,000, and 13 from cities of more than 100,000.

Nearly two-thirds of the vote in favor of the resolution was from towns of less than 10,000 population. By the last census report two-thirds of this vote would be classed as urban, and less than one-third of it from towns of more than 10,000 population.

Of the 190 members who voted against the Hobson resolution, 109 are from cities of more than 25,000 population, and 68 of these from cities of more than 100,000 population, while there are only 25 from towns of less than 2,500. This vote would indicate that Prohibition is an issue between the rural and urban population, as the representatives from the rural districts very generally voted for Prohibition, and those from the cities voted against it.

The great industrial states are urban, and few of their representatives voted for Prohibition in the House. The representatives of the rural states, and some from the rural districts of the urban states, made up the Prohibition vote in the main.

Taft, William H. Four Aspects of Civic Duty. pp. 46-8

The Supremacy of the Law

The public detriment arising from violations of law, followed by immunity from prosecutions or punishment, can hardly be overstated. It is, of course, the duty of the legislator in the enactment of laws to consider the ease or difficulty with which, by reason of popular feeling or popular prejudice, laws after being enacted can be enforced. Nothing is more foolish (sic), nothing more utterly at variance with sound public policy than to enact a law which, by reason of the conditions surrounding the community in which it is declared to be law, is incapable of enforcement. Such an instance is sometimes presented by sumptuary laws, by which the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited under penalty in localities where the public sentiment of the

immediate community does not and will not sustain the enforcement of the law. In such cases the legislation is usually the result of agitation by people in the country who are determined to make their fellow citizens in the city better. The enactment of the law comes through the country representatives, who form a majority of the legislature; but the enforcement of the law is among the people who are generally opposed to its enactment, and under such circumstances the law is a dead letter. This result is the great argument in favor of so called local option, which is really an instrumentality for determining whether a law can be enforced before it is made operative. In cases where the sale of liquor cannot be prohibited in fact, it is far better to regulate and diminish the evil than to attempt to stamp it out. By the enactment of a drastic law and the failure to enforce it there is injected into the public mind the idea that laws are to be observed or violated according to the will of those affected. I need not say how altogether pernicious such a loose theory is. General Grant said that the way to secure the repeal of a bad law was to enforce it. But when the part of the community which enacts the law is not the part affected by its enforcement, this is not a practicable method. The constant violation or neglect of any law leads to a demoralized view of all laws, and the choice of laws to be enforced then becomes as uncertain as the guess of a political executive in respect to public opinion is likely to make it. Such a policy constantly enlarges in the community the class of men with whom the sacredness of law does not exist.

**Summary of Investigations Conducted by the Committee of
Fifty. 1893-1903. pp. 50-3**

Prohibition

Prohibitory legislation has succeeded in abolishing and preventing the manufacture on a large scale of distilled and malt liquors within the areas covered by it. In districts where public sentiment has been strongly in its favor it has made it hard to obtain intoxicants, thereby removing temptation from the young and from persons disposed to alcoholic excesses. In pursuing its main object—which is to make the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, first, impossible, or, secondly, disreputable if possible—it has incidentally promoted the invention and adoption of many useful restrictions on the liquor traffic.

But prohibitory legislation has failed to exclude intoxicants completely even from districts where public sentiment has been favorable. In districts where public sentiment has been adverse or strongly divided, the traffic in alcoholic beverages has been sometimes repressed or harassed, but never exterminated or rendered unprofitable. In Maine and Iowa there have always been counties and municipalities in complete and successful rebellion against the law. The incidental difficulties created by the United States revenue laws, the industrial and medicinal demand for alcohol, and the freedom of interstate commerce have never been overcome. Prohibition has, of course, failed to subdue the drinking passion, which will forever prompt resistance to all restrictive legislation.

There have been concomitant evils of prohibitory legislation. The efforts to enforce it during forty years past have had some unlooked-for effects on public respect for courts, judicial procedure, oath, and law in general, and for officers of the law, legislatures, and public servants. The public have seen law defied, a whole generation of habitual law-breakers schooled in evasion and shamelessness, courts ineffective through the fluctuations of policy, delays, perjuries, negligencies, and other miscarriages of justice, officers of the law double-faced and mercenary, legislators timid and insincere, candidates for office hypocritical and truckling, and office-holders unfaithful to pledges and to reasonable public expectations. Through an agitation which has always had a moral end, these immoralities have been developed and made conspicuous. The liquor traffic, being very profitable, has been able, when attacked by prohibitory legislation, to pay fines, bribes, hush-money, and assessments for political purposes to large amounts. This money has tended to corrupt the lower courts, the police administration, political organizations, and even the electorate itself. Wherever the voting force of the liquor traffic and its allies is considerable, candidates for office and office-holders are tempted to serve a dangerous trade interest, which is often in antagonism to the public interest. Frequent yielding to this temptation causes general degeneration in public life, breeds contempt for the public service, and of course makes the service less desirable for upright men. Again, the sight of justices, constables, and informers enforcing a prohibitory law far enough to get from it the fines and fees which profit them, but not far enough to extinguish the traffic, and so cut off the source of their profits, is

demoralizing to society at large. All legislation intended to put restrictions on the liquor traffic, except perhaps a simple tax, is more or less liable to these objections; but the prohibitory legislation is the worst of all in these respects, because it stimulates to the utmost the resistance of the liquor dealers and their supporters.

Of course there are disputed effects of efforts at Prohibition. Whether or whether it has not reduced the consumption of intoxicants and diminished drunkenness is a matter of opinion, and opinions differ widely. No demonstration on either of these points has been reached, or is now (1897) obtainable, after more than forty years of observation and experience.

Congressional Record. 52: 519-24. December, 1914

National Prohibition. Oscar W. Underwood

I do not come here today to make an issue on the question as to whether men should be temperate or intemperate in their daily lives. I know of no man who would be so false to the teachings of the mother who bore him as to advocate intemperance. I not only believe in Temperance, so far as the consumption of liquor is concerned, but I believe in Temperance in every walk of life. Men should be temperate in their mental attitude toward other men, as well as temperate in the treatment of their own bodies.

But the proposed amendment does not raise the issue of Temperance. It is not a moral issue that is before us. The great moral issues which have confronted the world have not been worked out at the point of the sword or with the force of the governments behind them. The progress that the world has made in morality comes from the heart, following the teachings of God, and not from the force of men. The issue that is presented to this House and the country today is a governmental issue as to whether or not the enforcement of certain police regulations had best be controlled by the national government or left within the jurisdiction of the several states where they were placed by the fathers who builded this republic.

In order that I may not be misunderstood, I desire to say in the beginning that on the question of the enforcement of

Temperance laws I believe in local county option so far as my own state is concerned, because I believe that is the best way to enforce the law. My objection to the pending amendment is that it is an attempt to rob the states of their jurisdiction over police matters, in part to destroy the right of local self-government, and to establish a precedent that would concentrate the power of all government in the government established here at Washington.

I will not call your attention to the many things which have been said in favor of local self-government by the men who builded the federal constitution, but I do desire to read to you a quotation from the author of the Declaration of Independence, the author of religious liberty in Virginia, the man who was nearer in sentiment to the people of the United States than any man who has ever lived in our great republic.

In Mr. Jefferson's autobiography, in commenting upon the power of the federal judges, he wrote a few sentences that peculiarly apply to the question now in hand. I will trespass on your patience to read it to you. He said:

It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence. To this bias add that of the *esprit de corps*, of their peculiar maxim and creed that "it is the office of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction," and the absence of responsibility, and how can we expect impartial decision between the general government, of which they are themselves so eminent a part, and an individual state, from which they have nothing to hope or fear? We have seen, too, that, contrary to all correct example, they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, to throw an anchor ahead, and grapple further hold for future advances of power. They are then, in fact, the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the states, and to consolidate all power in the hands of that government in which they have so important a freehold estate. But it is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers but by their distribution that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into states, that division must be made that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. Every state again is divided into counties, each to take care of what lies within its local bounds; each county again into townships or wards, to manage minute details; and every ward into farms, to be governed by its individual proprietor. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread.

It is by this partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs may be best managed for the good and prosperity of all.

Is there any true American whose soul responds to the genius of our republic who will deny the truth of that utterance? Without intending any reflection on the motives of the gentlemen who present this resolution, I say, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that by attempting to secure the adoption of this amendment they are "a corps of sappers and miners working to undermine the independent right of the states." When you abandon the fundamental principles of the constitution where does it lead you? To the Democratic side of the House I may say, Abandon the fundamental principles of your own party and where will you draw the line in the future? The men who wrote this constitution that you seek today in part to destroy were the men who had given more thought to the necessities of a free government, to the danger of its overthrow, than any men who have ever lived within our republic. They realized that when the powers of the government are concentrated in the hands of one central government, without restraint from any source, that we would ride to the same fall to which the republics of Greece, the republics of Rome, the republics of every known country in the world ultimately come. And to protect against that danger they established a central government at Washington to control national affairs, to attend to the business where one nation came in contact with another nation. But they reserved to the several states the powers of government that affect the individual, his rights, his liberty, and his happiness. Shall we begin the work of destruction?

And yet, in an idle hour, cloaked in the robe of Temperance—because all men believe in Temperance—a faction has arisen in this republic that would tear down the very fabric of the government itself and destroy the foundation stones on which it rests.

It is not alone the statesmen of the past who have spoken on this question. I desire to read a few sentences from an editorial clipped from the Louisville Courier-Journal, written by a Democrat of the Samuel J. Tilden school of Democracy, who believed in those principles of our fathers that in this day and time we are asked to abandon. Col. Henry Watterson in an editorial in the Courier-Journal said this:

The Prohibition movement—a tyrannous scheme to establish virtue and morality by law, to regulate personal appetite and individual habit by the

will of the majority, in embryo to resurrect and reestablish the principle and affinity of Church and State—is quite as mischievous a delusion as any of those which have gone before it.

In — counties which have ordained Prohibition two-thirds of those thus arraying themselves at the polls believed they were voting for temperance against intemperance, whereas, which the event will prove they were voting against lawful procedure and just taxation on the one hand and in favor of outlawry and no taxation on the other hand.

If Prohibition prohibited, if law reached morals, the argument in favor of drastic legislation would be cogent, indeed. But the actual experience had everywhere shows exactly the contrary. The scheme is the offspring of emotional insanity. It would nowise accomplish the ends it aims at. It would simply ruin whole classes and regions, reduce values and increase taxes, leaving the drink evil untouched in its nature to readjust itself to changed conditions, as it has done everywhere that Prohibition has laid its blight.

The fact cannot be successfully contradicted that Prohibition established by law does not produce Temperance or stop the liquor habit where the public sentiment of the local community does not sustain the law. It merely makes men outlaws instead of encouraging a respect for law and order. I contend that there is no law written on the statute books that is stronger than the sentiment of the jury in the jury box. In the last analysis the law in this land is enforced in the jury box. In most of the states of the Union, if not all, the jury is drawn from the jurisdiction of the county within the state, and when public sentiment in the county is adverse to the statute men who go into that jury box, or at least 1 in 12, will be found who are not in favor of enforcing the law, and you will have a law on the statute books which, instead of producing the desired results, brings about a condition that puts all law into contempt and substitutes outlawry for a just administration of the law of the land. In fact, the resolution itself is not for Temperance. It does not contend or propose that men shall be forced to cease drinking liquor. It merely proposes that it shall be unlawful to sell liquor. Nothing in this amendment would prevent any man from manufacturing his own liquor and drinking it when he pleased. It is not difficult to manufacture whisky. If the law does not prohibit it, it can be manufactured on the cooking stove; and I say to my friends from the South that if you merely want to prohibit the sale of liquor and not prohibit its use, and that is as far as you are going, then, so far as this resolution is concerned, you encourage blind-tigers throughout

the length and breadth of our country. Of course the answer to that would be that the state laws would prohibit, but you are proposing to go beyond the state law. Some gentlemen have argued that you can enforce Prohibition by the state law and by the federal law.

In physics I have been taught that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time and in the science of government I have been taught that two governments cannot exercise jurisdiction over the same territory for the punishment of the same crime at the same time. Possibly some of the advocates of this resolution may want to go so far as to advocate that a man shall be twice tried for one crime—that he shall be tried in a state court and tried in a federal court, but I do not believe that such a proposition would meet with the approval of the sane judgment of the American people.

This question cannot be disposed of without considering it from the financial side. It is true that the advocates of the resolution, when you say that it will destroy property or wipe out taxation, scoff and jeer at the proposition, but will the American people scoff and jeer at a question of confiscation when they really understand what is intended?

First, let me call your attention to what it will cost the American people in the way of taxes to write this resolution on the statute books. The receipts of the federal government in Washington during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, from ordinary sources, were as follows:

Receipts into the General Fund, Including Various Trust-Fund Receipts, but Excluding Postal Revenues

Customs	\$292,320,014.51
Internal revenue—	
Ordinary	\$308,659,732.56
Corporation excise tax	10,671,077.22
Corporation income tax	32,456,662.67
Individual income tax	28,253,534.85
	<hr/>
	380,041,007.30
Sales of public lands	2,571,774.77
Miscellaneous	59,740,370.13
Total ordinary receipts	<hr/>
	\$734,673,166.71

This table shows that the total ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1914 amounted to \$734,673,166.71. Of this amount \$245,400,000, or over 33 per cent of it, was

received from the internal revenue and customs taxes on malt liquors, spirits, and wines.

Of the taxes levied on liquors \$226,200,000 were received from internal revenue and \$19,200,000 from customs, making the total of \$245,400,000. Aside from the federal revenue, I find that the revenue derived by the states from licenses amounted to \$21,000,000, from counties \$6,600,000, and from incorporated places having a population of 2,500 and over \$52,000,000, or a total that the states derived from liquor licenses of \$79,600,000. This makes the total in the United States from all sources \$325,000,000.

I have a table, compiled by the Census Bureau, showing the exact amount of revenue from liquor licenses derived from each state, which I particularly wish to call to your attention. The amount received in the various states is given on page 126.

Mr. Speaker, if all revenue derived from the sale of liquor should be destroyed to accomplish a good purpose, it might be well to destroy this source of revenue and place the burden of taxation elsewhere, but I contend that if you adopt the pending resolution you will not accomplish the end you aim at, real Temperance, but you will transpose law into license and establish national tyranny in place of local justice. You would not prevent the drinking of liquor or the evils that grow out of it, but you would destroy the supervision of the liquor traffic by local authority. You would destroy this revenue and the evils of intemperance would still exist. Your people would have to bear the burdens of taxation in some other way. Are the people of New York state, where I understand they do not have a direct tax on property and their taxes are raised indirectly, willing to agree to a resolution that would sacrifice \$17,000,000 of revenue for a theory, and place that amount of taxes on the land of the people? That is the issue for the American people to consider. Why, I can illustrate that in my own state without in any way intending to reflect on the high morals and character of the people of the great state of Georgia. I wish to call your attention to the fact that in Alabama we have local county option. There are nine counties in which liquor is sold out of sixty-seven counties. The people of Alabama obtain a revenue of \$585,645 from licenses in that state. In Georgia they have state-wide Prohibition and no revenue derived, and yet there is as

SELECTED ARTICLES ON

Receipts from Liquor Licenses, 1913

State	Total	State	County	Incorporated places having a population of 2,500 and over and school districts
Total	\$79,547,868	\$20,992,857	\$6,000,010	\$51,955,001
Alabama	585,645	26,111	199,705	359,829
Arizona	258,442	1,500	158,876	98,066
Arkansas	440,441	87,135	133,120	240,186
California	2,771,402	..	216,602	2,554,800
Colorado	672,440	56,838	63,051	552,551
Connecticut	949,639	..	102,486	847,153
Delaware	76,789	76,789	..	..
District of Columbia	436,790	..	(¹)	436,790
Florida	511,029	157,800	65,387	287,842
Idaho	214,308	14,485	115,150	84,673
Illinois	9,727,827	..	19,225	9,708,602
Indiana	1,404,944	..	..	1,404,944
Iowa	1,118,675	..	494,976	623,699
Kentucky	1,338,526	581,007	..	757,519
Louisiana	1,524,689	450,700	240,241	833,748
Maryland	1,728,435	427,468	137,843	1,163,124
Massachusetts	3,274,005	827,535	..	2,446,470
Michigan	1,991,568	24,542	914,922	1,052,104
Minnesota	1,797,142	54,143	163,604	1,579,395
Missouri	4,319,015	1,504,906	907,068	1,907,041
Montana	545,767	(²)	374,204	171,563
Nebraska	855,143	..	23,350	831,793
Nevada	152,316	50,640	78,627	23,049
New Hampshire	264,014	..	135,516	128,498
New Jersey	2,625,414	..	..	2,625,414
New Mexico	136,594	..	53,155	83,439
New York	17,374,408	9,401,083	..	7,973,325
Ohio	7,975,230	2,542,533	983,898	4,448,799
Oregon	570,750	..	22,089	548,661
Pennsylvania	6,109,949	1,800,740	423,357	3,885,852
Rhode Island	678,750	170,616	(¹)	508,134
South Dakota	257,485	..	163,735	93,750
Tennessee	590,121	590,121	..	..
Texas	1,303,895	687,000	380,356	236,539
Utah	330,557	..	9,523	321,034
Vermont	78,518	74,118	..	4,400
Virginia	975,529	529,698	..	445,831
Washington	1,117,573	206,708	39,944	870,921
West Virginia	922,072	648,641	..	273,431
Wisconsin	1,363,591	..	..	1,363,591
Wyoming	178,441	..	..	178,441

¹ No county organization.² Not reported

much liquor drunk in the state of Georgia as in the state of Alabama.

Some of the advocates of this resolution laugh when it is suggested to them that should the Constitution of the United States be amended in this particular it would confiscate millions of dollars of property of law-abiding citizens. Scorn may be the answer of the fanatic, but the just man will consider the facts. He will realize that a sentiment that may destroy his neighbor's property today may carry his own to the shambles tomorrow.

In 1909 there was invested in the liquor industry of the United States \$771,516,000. At that time this industry employed 77,779 persons, their annual wage amounting to \$70,907,000.

The following table shows the number of persons engaged in the liquor industry, the capital employed, and the salaries and wages paid in 1909:

	Distilled	Liquors Malt	Vinous
Persons engaged in industry:			
Total	8,328	66,725	2,726
Proprietors and firm members	563	639	236
Salaried employees	1,335	11,507	579
Wage earners (average number) ..	6,430	54,579	1,911
Capital	\$72,450,000	\$671,158,000	\$27,908,000
Salaries	1,988,000	22,804,000	863,000
Wages	3,074,000	41,206,000	972,000

For one I am not prepared to say that when property is destroyed, if it is destroyed for the public good, that the owner of that property should not receive just compensation, nor do I believe that the sentiment of the American people is in accord with the declarations we have heard from some of the proponents of this resolution favoring destruction of property without compensation by law.

It is contended that Prohibition produces Temperance where it is on the statute books, but I find on an examination of the bulletins issued by the Bureau of the Census that the improved conditions which we may naturally expect to find in the lives of men and women who practice real Temperance are not found to predominate in the states where Prohibition laws have been on the statute books for many years as compared to those states

where liquor is sold under a license system or where Temperance laws are controlled by the sentiment of the local communities.

Census Bulletin 112, on mortality statistics for 1911, at page 77, shows the death rate per 100,000 population from violent deaths, excluding suicide, for certain cities in specified states.

The census investigation in 1911 shows that the average death rate by violence, exclusive of suicide, for cities investigated in twenty-nine states in which liquor was lawfully sold was lower than that of Kansas, for many years a Prohibition state. In three it was higher. In six Prohibition states investigated, Tennessee and West Virginia show a higher death rate than Kansas.

The following table is compiled from Census Bulletin No. 112, on mortality statistics for 1911, and shows the death rate per 100,000 population from violent deaths, excluding suicide, for certain cities in specified states.

*Death Rate per 100,000 Population from Violent Deaths
(Excluding Suicide)*

State	Liquor-license states having an average death rate—		Prohibition states (average)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Entire registration area	91.1	..	..
All registration cities	95.7	..	..
Registration cities in—			
Kansas .....	..	..	123.0
Alabama .....	..	141.2	..
California	99.2	..	..
Colorado	79.0	..	..
Connecticut	93.1	..	..
Delaware	76.6	..	..
District of Columbia	79.7	..	..
Florida .....	..	152.7	..
Georgia .....	..	..	120.0
Illinois	93.8	..	..
Indiana	94.1	..	..
Kentucky	113.1
Louisiana	114.6
Maine	98.3
Maryland	85.5
Massachusetts	94.5

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State	Liquor-license states having an average death rate—		Prohi- bition states (average)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Michigan	82.6	..	..
Minnesota	74.0	..	..
Missouri	102.2	..	..
Montana .....	..	126.2	..
Nebraska	88.8	..	..
New Hampshire	110.2	..	..
New Jersey	96.6	..	..
New York	88.3	..	..
North Carolina .....	..	..	113.6
Ohio	103.4	..	..
Oregon	82.8	..	..
Pennsylvania	105.8	..	..
Rhode Island	87.2	..	..
South Carolina	114.9	..	..
Tennessee .....	..	..	155.4
Texas	121.6	..	..
Utah	85.7	..	..
Vermont	83.5	..	..
Virginia	107.9	..	..
Washington	78.8	..	..
West Virginia .....	..	..	159.6
Wisconsin	76.9	..	..

Bulletin 112 of the Bureau of the Census, on mortality statistics for 1911, at page 77, shows the death rate from suicide per 100,000 population for certain cities in specified states.

The table shows that cities were investigated in thirty-eight states. Twenty states show a lower average death rate from suicide where liquor is lawfully sold than Kansas. Eleven show a higher death rate than Kansas. Of the Prohibition states West Virginia was the only one having a higher average rate than Kansas.

The following table is compiled from Census Bulletin No. 112, on mortality statistics for 1911, and shows the death rate from suicide per 100,000 population for certain cities in specified states:

Death Rate Per 100,000 Population from Suicide

State	Liquor-license states having an average death rate—		Prohi- bition states (average)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Entire registration area.....	16.2	..	..
All registration cities in area.....	19.3	..	..
Registration cities in—			
Kansas .....	..	..	22.0
Alabama	11.9	..	..
California .....	..	35.2	..
Colorado .....	..	28.5	..
Connecticut	18.9	..	..
Delaware	15.8	..	..
District of Columbia .....	..	26.1	..
Florida	18.0	..	..
Georgia .....	..	..	12.4
Indiana .....	..	24.3	..
Illinois	21.7	..	..
Kentucky	16.1	..	..
Louisiana	13.6	..	..
Maine .....	..	..	13.6
Maryland	17.7	..	..
Massachusetts	13.1	..	..
Michigan	18.3	..	..
Minnesota	18.7	..	..
Missouri .....	..	32.8	..
Montana .....	..	49.3	..
Nebraska .....	..	28.0	..
New Hampshire	12.4	..	..
New Jersey	17.0	..	..
New York	16.8	..	..
North Carolina .....	..	..	7.1
Ohio	20.3	..	..
Oregon .....	..	34.6	..
Pennsylvania	15.6	..	..
Rhode Island	11.8	..	..
South Carolina	5.1	..	..
Tennessee .....	..	..	16.4
Texas .....	..	29.2	..
Utah .....	..	34.0	..
Vermont	122.0	..	..
Virginia	14.6	..	..
Washington .....	..	29.3	..
West Virginia .....	..	..	26.2
Wisconsin	18.9	..	..

¹ Same as Kansas.

Census Bulletin No. 96, on Marriage and Divorce, page 42, shows the annual average divorce rate per 100,000 married population, by states, in 1900.

It shows that twenty-seven states in which liquor is lawfully sold have a lower divorce rate than Kansas, and that thirteen states in which liquor is lawfully sold have a higher rate. Oklahoma is the only Prohibition state having a higher divorce rate than Kansas.

The following table is compiled from Census Bulletin No. 96, on Marriage and Divorce, and shows the average annual divorce rate per 100,000 married population, by states:

Annual Divorce Rate per 100,000 Married Population

State	Liquor-license states having an average divorce rate		Prohi- bition states (average)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Continental United States	200	..	..
Kansas .....	..	..	286
North Atlantic division:			
Maine .....	..	..	282
New Hampshire	272	..	..
Vermont	177	..	..
Massachusetts	124	..	..
Rhode Island	281	..	..
Connecticut	130	..	..
New York	60	..	..
New Jersey	60	..	..
Pennsylvania	94	..	..
South Atlantic division:			
Delaware	43	..	..
Maryland	114	..	..
District of Columbia	162	..	..
Virginia	117	..	..
West Virginia .....	..	..	183
North Carolina .....	..	..	75
Georgia .....	..	..	78
Florida	226	..	..
North Central division:			
Ohio	231	..	..
Indiana .....	..	355	..
Illinois	267	..	..
Michigan	257	..	..
Wisconsin	180	..	..
Minnesota	161	..	..

State	Liquor-license states having an average divorce rate		Prohi- bition states (average)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
North Central division— <i>continued</i>			
Iowa	246	..	..
Missouri	281	..	..
North Dakota .....	..	..	268
South Dakota	270	..	..
Nebraska	226	..	..
South Central division:			
Kentucky	237	..	..
Tennessee .....	..	..	261
Alabama	208	..	..
Mississippi .....	..	..	225
Louisiana	127	..	..
Arkansas .....	..	399	..
Indian Territory .....	..	326	..
Oklahoma .....	..	..	346
Texas .....	..	391	..
Western division:			
Montana .....	..	497	..
Idaho .....	..	347	..
Wyoming .....	..	361	..
Colorado .....	..	409	..
New Mexico	193	..	..
Arizona .....	..	344	..
Utah	274	..	..
Nevada .....	..	315	..
Washington .....	..	513	..
Oregon .....	..	368	..
California .....	..	297	..

Census Bulletin No. 96, on Marriage and Divorce, page 47, shows the number of divorces granted to wives because of the drunkenness of the husband.

This table shows that during the period from 1887 to 1906 there were 33,080 divorces granted to wives because of their husband's drunkenness. During this time the state of Kansas granted more divorces on account of the drunkenness of the husband than twenty-five states in which liquor was lawfully sold. Maine was the only Prohibition state granting more divorces for drunkenness of the husband than Kansas.

The following table is compiled from Census Bulletin No. 96, on Marriage and Divorce, and shows the number of divorces

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granted from 1887 to 1906 to wives because of the drunkenness of the husband, by states:

Divorces, 1887 to 1906, Granted to Wives because of the Drunkenness of the Husband, by States

State	Liquor-license states having a divorce rate—		Prohibition states (number)
	Less than Kansas	More than Kansas	
Kansas .....	..	..	630
North Atlantic division:			
Maine .....	..	..	1,756
New Hampshire	519	..	..
Massachusetts .....	..	2,378	..
Rhode Island	188	..	..
Connecticut .....	..	1,279	..
New York	3	..	..
South Atlantic division:			
Delaware	8	..	..
District of Columbia	99	..	..
West Virginia .....	..	..	13
North Carolina .....	..	..	20
Georgia .....	..	..	218
Florida	166	..	..
North Central division:			
Ohio .....	..	2,536	..
Indiana .....	..	2,822	..
Illinois .....	..	7,993	..
Michigan	485	..	..
Wisconsin .....	..	652	..
Minnesota	497	..	..
Iowa .....	..	2,719	..
Missouri .....	..	2,434	..
North Dakota .....	..	..	77
South Dakota	133	..	..
Nebraska	569	..	..
South Central division:			
Kentucky .....	..	671	..
Tennessee .....	..	..	447
Alabama	486	..	..
Mississippi .....	..	..	218
Louisiana	130	..	..
Arkansas	277	..	..
Indian Territory	155	..	..
Oklahoma .....	..	..	161
Texas	148	..	..
Western division:			
Montana	115	..	..

		Liquor-license states having a divorce rate—		Prohibition states (number)
State		Less than Kansas	More than Kansas	
Western division— <i>continued</i>				
Idaho		70	..	..
Wyoming		32	..	..
Colorado		99	..	..
New Mexico		42	..	..
Arizona		72	..	..
Utah		83	..	..
Nevada		20	..	..
Washington		566	..	..
Oregon		326	..	..
California .....		..	768	..

The annual report of the secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, at page 460, shows the report of the comptroller of the currency with regard to the average saving of each depositor in the savings banks of the United States in 1913.

This report shows that in twenty-seven states in which liquor is lawfully sold the average saving per depositor is higher than that of the average depositor in Kansas. In nine states where liquor is lawfully sold the average saving is lower than in Kansas. Four Prohibition states show a higher average than Kansas and four a lower average.

The following table shows the average savings for each depositor in the savings banks of the United States, by states, in 1913:

Average Savings for Each Depositor in the Savings Banks of the United States, by States, in 1913

State	Liquor-license states having an average saving per depositor—		Prohibition states (average saving per depositor.)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Average in United States	\$439.07	..
Kansas	\$231.69
New England states:			
Maine	403.01
New Hampshire	468.18	..
Vermont	431.05	..
Massachusetts	382.88	..
Rhode Island	544.93	..
Connecticut	497.02	..

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		Liquor-license states having an average saving per depositor—		Prohi- bition states (average saving per de- positor.)
State		Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Eastern states:				
New York .....		..	545.90	..
New Jersey .....		..	355.46	..
Pennsylvania .....		..	423.17	..
Delaware .....		..	338.60	..
Maryland .....		..	383.85	..
District of Columbia		\$160.20	..	..
Southern states:				
Virginia .....		..	272.77	..
West Virginia .....		..	..	168.01
North Carolina .....		..	..	171.56
South Carolina .....		..	278.75	..
Georgia .....		..	..	239.54
Florida		214.39	..	..
Alabama		91.22	..	..
Mississippi .....		..	..	280.97
Louisiana		165.41	..	..
Arkansas		200.78	..	..
Kentucky		140.18	..	..
Tennessee .....		..	..	262.27
Middle Western states:				
Ohio .....		..	356.78	..
Indiana .....		..	388.01	..
Michigan .....		..	433.36	..
Wisconsin .....		..	327.98	..
Minnesota .....		..	266.98	..
Iowa .....		..	356.65	..
Western states:				
North Dakota .....		..	..	207.15
Nebraska		155.32	..	..
Montana .....		..	522.97	..
Wyoming .....		..	373.96	..
Colorado .....		..	265.43	..
New Mexico		206.55	..	..
Oklahoma .....		..	..	152.83
Pacific states:				
Washington .....		..	372.20	..
Oregon .....		..	364.12	..
California .....		..	523.48	..
Idaho		179.47	..	..
Utah .....		..	265.29	..
Nevada .....		..	781.39	..
Arizona .....		..	539.33	..

Census Bulletin No. 103, on religious bodies, 1906, at page 40, shows the relation of church membership to the population in 1906 by states.

The religious-body investigation of 1906 shows the following interesting facts: That out of forty-nine state investigations only four states had a lower church membership in proportion to the population than Kansas. Two of these states—Wyoming and Oregon—were states in which liquor was sold and two Prohibition states—West Virginia and Oklahoma. Thirty-eight states in which liquor is lawfully sold had a larger percentage church membership than Kansas.

The following table shows the relationship of church membership to the population in 1906 by states:

*Percentage of Church Membership to Total Population in 1906,
by States*

State	Liquor-license states having a percentage church membership—		Prohi- bition states (percent- age)
	Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
Continental United States	39.1	..
Kansas	28.4
North Atlantic division:			
Maine	29.8
New Hampshire	44.0	..
Vermont	42.0	..
Massachusetts	51.3	..
Rhode Island	54.0	..
Connecticut	50.0	..
New York	43.7	..
New Jersey	39.0	..
Pennsylvania	43.0	..
South Atlantic division:			
Delaware	36.6	..
Maryland	37.1	..
District of Columbia	44.4	..
Virginia	40.2	..
West Virginia	28.0
North Carolina	40.0
South Carolina	45.8	..
Georgia	42.1
Florida	35.2	..
North Central division:			
Ohio	39.3	..
Indiana	34.6	..

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State		Liquor-license states having a percentage church membership—	Prohi- bition states (percent- age)	
		Lower than Kansas	Higher than Kansas	
North Central division— <i>continued</i>				
Illinois	.....	..	38.3	..
Michigan	.....	..	38.0	..
Wisconsin	.....	..	44.3	..
Minnesota	.....	..	41.2	..
Iowa	.....	..	35.8	..
Missouri	.....	..	35.7	..
North Dakota	.....	..	..	34.3
South Dakota	.....	..	34.8	..
Nebraska	.....	..	32.4	..
South Central division:				
Kentucky	.....	..	37.0	..
Tennessee	.....	..	..	32.1
Alabama	.....	..	40.8	..
Mississippi	.....	..	..	38.5
Louisiana	.....	..	50.6	..
Arkansas	.....	..	30.0	..
Oklahoma	.....	..	..	18.2
Texas	.....	..	34.7	..
Western division:				
Montana	.....	..	32.6	..
Idaho	.....	..	36.3	..
Wyoming	.....	23.1	..	..
Colorado	.....	..	33.4	..
New Mexico	.....	..	63.3	..
Arizona	.....	..	31.3	..
Utah	.....	..	54.6	..
Nevada	.....	..	35.3	..
Washington	.....	..	31.2	..
Oregon	.....	25.3	..	..
California	.....	..	37.1	..

The Solution of the Issue

In conclusion, let me say that this is not a question of Temperance; it is not a moral question; it is merely a question as to whether you are going to substitute for the authority of your state to enforce its laws against your own people the authority of the federal government, that may or may not be in sympathy with the sentiment, the character, and the history of your people. In my judgment, there is but one way to work this question out, and that is by education sustained by local laws. The one government in the world most without Prohibition laws is the Empire of Germany. There has been a greater

growth of Temperance societies in Germany than in our own country where we have more Prohibition statutes than any other civilized land.

Let our judgment be guided by the light of experience, and we have had much experience in attempting to secure Temperance by Prohibition legislation. That experience has proved that, as a rule, the smaller the unit of local option the more effectively has the sale of liquor been prevented and the greatest progress to complete sobriety obtained.

Let us not forget that every law intended to regulate the sale of liquor is a farce when it does not embody the sentiment of the community in which it is to be enforced. It is a breeder of fraud and corruption and of contempt for constituted authority.

California Official

Argument Against Prohibition, 1914. William Schuldt

There are three objections to this amendment:

First—Prohibition is contrary to sound political principles. The best government, as all authorities agree, is that which most liberally lets its citizens alone; constraining them in nowise inconsistent with common sense ideas of perfect freedom. Political science teaches that reform to be effective must be temperate. Nothing ever remains of any artificial reform except what was ripe in the conscience of the masses. The unripeness of total abstinence is evident from the failure of Prohibition in Maine, Kansas, Georgia and other states where it is at once a scandal and a farce.

Second—Prohibition is immoral and contrary to the teachings of religion and physiological science. A form of intolerance, it substitutes enmities and hatreds for peace and goodwill, the foundations of the soundest morality. It breeds general demoralization, since wherever it is enacted moonshine distilleries, little kitchen breweries and hidden wine presses flourish; the spy system, the most mischievous of all governmental agencies, is established, and officials are corrupted by lawbreakers, as always where laws are not sanctioned by a heartfelt and vigilant public sentiment. Further, Prohibition is immoral in that it breeds intellectual dishonesty among its advocates. Consider their

sweeping assertion that even moderate drinking causes disease and leads to vice. Scientists gathered from all countries at the physiological congress in Cambridge affirmed officially that alcohol "supplies energy like all common articles of food, and that it is physiologically incorrect to designate it as a poison," also, that "there is nothing to show that a moderate daily use of alcohol in any kind of beverage may not be beneficial to health."

Third—Prohibition in California, especially on the eve of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, would be an economic blunder of colossal proportions. Why should California destroy her great wine industry? In the cultivation of it she has spent enormous sums of public money, and has made the fostering of it one of the duties of the state university.

California has 320,000 acres devoted to viticulture. The wine industry represents an investment of \$150,000,000, yields annually \$30,000,000, supports 75,000 persons. California breweries represent an investment of \$50,000,000, distribute annually \$6,000,000 to 4,000 employees, consume annually \$1,000,000 worth of California barley, \$175,000 worth of California hops, and \$2,500,000 worth of other essentials. They pay the general government an annual revenue of \$1,350,000 and about the same amount to towns and counties.

In the manufacture and distribution of liquors 282,000 persons are employed and dependent. In the distribution of liquors \$10,000,000 is invested, and the annual license tax paid is \$3,000,000.

So Prohibition would not only destroy great properties and industries, impoverish thousands of families and increase the army of unemployed, but it would substitute the vilest of poisonous concoctions for our pure wines, beers and brandies, and make every taxpayer pay the cost of the industrial cataclysm. And to what end? Prohibition has been a failure wherever the hobby has been given the dignity of legal sanction.

Do Prohibitionists believe, as they say, that the race is dying? Mankind has been drinking thousands of years, never so moderately as now; and Professor Münsterberg, greatest living psychologist, holds that alcoholic stimulants are essential to great achievement. Drunkenness is deplorable, but it has been steadily declining for one hundred years without the aid of Prohibition.

Vote "No."

Compensation

Written especially for this volume by Hon. Eugene Quigley,
Attorney-at-Law, Cleveland, Ohio

Compensation, as a method of effecting Prohibition, appeals to the fair minded citizen as an equitable solution of a difficult problem. It is simply a question of public conscience, of public honesty, of public fair dealing. The American people cannot afford to acquire a calloused conscience in dealing with the rights and property of their fellow citizens. No very vivid imagination is necessary to aid one to understand to what length confiscation by law could be carried in the hands of a radical political party, the public conscience having once become accustomed to doing as it pleased with the private rights and properties of the people.

In the past the manufacture and sale of malt, spiritous and vinous liquors was not regarded as an illegitimate business, for the time was when the village tavern keeper was the first citizen of his town. Be it remembered that our own George Washington owned and operated a distillery and dying gave it by will to his wife, and that Abraham Lincoln with his partner Berry owned and operated a tavern at Springfield, Ill. Indisputable evidence in the public records of Virginia and Illinois establish these statements beyond question. It is only of recent years that theorists have sought by propaganda to attach a stigma to all who are in any way engaged in the liquor industry. We cannot pretend that the liquor question is none of our fault. It is all our fault.

From the time when license was first put upon the manufacture and sale of liquor, the government of the United States, which of course, means the people of the United States, has been in partnership with the manufacturers of liquor. We have all partaken of their profits and have upheld them in their industry, acted as guarantors for the quality and measure of their products, shared in their losses and acted as their agents, until the time came when our government, and therefore ourselves established the manufacture and sale of liquor upon a sound financial basis, and made it known that the business was a safe financial investment. Then came the investment of American money in the securities of this business. The man who builded for his own and his family's financial safety in his old age, and

the widow and orphan invested in the stocks and the bonds of the manufacturing companies. Can our conscience allow confiscation when we consider our conduct in the past.

If we are seeking to deprive these people of their property by "due process of law," are we coming into court with clean hands? Can the government of the United States—the people of the United States—at this day, when they have led investors—their own friends and neighbors—into believing in these securities to such an extent that they have invested their savings—in some cases life earnings—go out tomorrow and with one sweep of the pen by a new law, wipe out all value of the securities they have created. "He who seeks equity must first do equity."

If the time has come, when the experiment of nationwide Prohibition must be tried by this nation of ours, then let us enter into our new state of grace, with a clear conscience. Let us go into this court with clean hands. If the experiment is worth anything, it is worth paying something for, and we should in honesty, as a matter of moral right, pay back to our partner, the man in the manufacture and sale of liquor, at least a part of the money we have received to compensate for the losses we compel him to sustain. Were all the things true that are said of the liquor industry, still the property the industry has acquired, has come to it lawfully and a government should, and in the end must, have the same tenets of honesty which the government requires of its citizens.

We have had men with such a conscience in our government—I venture to place the name of one of them against the names of any of the present day advocates of confiscation. Had the great emancipator's advice been heeded, there had been no war between our North and South, for he it was who proposed to have the government buy the slaves from their owners and set them free. Congress would not agree to expend the money of the people for that purpose. Result—the terrible Civil War—more costly in dollars and incalculably costly in human lives. The government of Great Britain in 1833 abolished slavery, by compensating the owners and setting all slaves in the empire free. That same compensation is now being made by the same government to manufacturers and traffickers in liquor, who are being deprived of their business and livelihood. In 1910 Switzerland did the same thing. The manufacture of vodka by Russia was

a government monopoly and when the autocracy decided to discontinue the manufacture and sale of vodka the government being a despotism the people of course were compelled to submit. Russia owned and controlled the business herself and when she decided to discontinue, had the right to do so, it injured no private citizen. France in 1915 abolished the manufacture and sale of absinthe and is compensating the people whose business has thus been legislated away.

Almost anything can be made legally right by law—but that does not prevent the legislation from being morally wrong. It can be made legally right to confiscate the property of every man engaged in the manufacture and sale of liquor in the United States. This means the wiping out at a stroke of the livelihood of citizens and their dependents in numbers running into the millions. It means that millions of dollars worth of machinery will go to the scrap pile—that millions of dollars worth of buildings become ruins—that millions of dollars of rental property becomes almost valueless. These things do not affect the liquor interests alone, they will have a direct bearing upon the finances of every community.

We have shared in the profits of the business as tax payers and citizens—it follows as a necessary corollary that we should also share in the losses. Would any one sanction as right and equitable a partnership in which both partners shared in the profits, but one did all the work and is charged with all the losses at dissolution. Neither justice nor equity exist in such a proposition. The only plan we can pursue honorably is to deal fairly and honestly with those in the business. The advocates of Prohibition herald their theory as a great public improvement. Public buildings, bridges, highways, hospitals and all other things that are necessary for the comfort, safety, or convenience of the public are provided by the state as a matter of course at the expense of the citizens and taxpayers. Why not this also? When the building of public bridges or roads or buildings necessitates the taking of private property, the citizen whose property is taken is always compensated.

A board, committee or commission should be provided for by law with authority to appraise all property engaged in the business at its actual value and those engaged in the business should be compensated therefor. The liquor industry would lose its business, its very existence, but would be paid some part of the

actual cash loss and could invest in some other business, the money would remain in circulation and thus all share in this method of settlement. The government would have all the property of the industry and would probably realize by salvage a large percentage of the appropriation.

The liquor industry even in this way, must suffer a great loss, but would quit with at least some of its investment and a feeling that it had been dealt with fairly. A large amount of money will be necessary to carry out this plan but we must remember that we are only paying part of our years of accumulated profits. And are purchasing so we are told—greater moral and physical safety. If that is so we, and posterity, will be the recipient of the innumerable benefits which Prohibition advocates tell us the future holds. Then we, and they should be willing to pay at least a part of the price of the immense benefits portrayed.

They say millions of money will be saved to the public thru the closing of penitentiaries, jails, poor houses, insane asylums, and public sanitariums. Let us issue bonds in anticipation of this happy state of affairs and as the aforesaid institutions gradually close their doors we can apply the money thus saved and in a very few years the bonds will be paid and the whole matter settled for all time. And no increase in taxation will be necessary to take care of the cost if our Prohibition brethren are right. This last of course is merely a suggestion, based upon the theory of Prohibition advocates and no doubt a more certain method of taking care of the situation could be devised.

This is not a question upon which sentimental arguments can decently or honestly be used. Let us look the cold facts in the face and decide it upon its merits as an equitable proposition. Shall we shock the moral sense of the people of the United States by confiscating the liquor industry and all its securities and investment; or shall we attain this later day moral righteousness in a manner that is morally right—by compensation?

Ohio Home Rule Almanac. p. 27**Vote "No" on Prohibition [in Ohio]—Because**

It will throw 100,000 men out of work.

It will lower wages and disastrously affect many allied industries.

It will confiscate \$450,000,000 of property values without compensation.

It will cost the taxpayers \$32,000,000.

It will interfere with the personal use of beverages.

It will make the buyer of wine, beer and liquors in Ohio a party to a criminal offense.

It will throw your home open to the private detective.

It will not prohibit.

It will substitute the "blind pig" and the kitchen bar for the regulated, licensed saloon.

It will destroy the license system.

It will breed the "sneak" and the "hypocrite."

It will increase the pernicious drug habit.

It will ruin the finances of the cities.

It will divide the people.

Congressional Record. 52: 548-51. December 22, 1914**Ten Reasons Why Prohibition Is Wrong. Richard Bartholdt**

Let us, first, as the physicians do, diagnose the disease, and then consider the proposed cure. The fundamental argument of the Prohibitionists is that the use of alcoholic beverages is the principal cause of vice, crime, insanity, and poverty, and the only right way of dealing with the matter, they say, is to prohibit, by stringent laws, the making and sale and consequently the use of such beverages.

I take distinct issue with both propositions. First, it is not true that crime, vice, poverty, and insanity are, in the great majority of cases, caused by drunkenness. Second, it is not true that Prohibition will prevent those evils.

While drunkenness is one of the many causes of human unhappiness, I contend it is not the sole nor even the chief cause. The nations notoriously opposed to the use of alcohol

are not freer of the burden of misery than is our own. Mohammedans, for instance, are prohibited by their religion from using alcoholic beverages, and it has not yet been observed that their lives are any happier than the lives of people in Christian lands. And in our own country, while intemperance leads to the commission of crimes against persons, yet the most serious crimes against life and property are the result of other causes. It would be tedious to enumerate in detail the several causes of crime. But let us select murder as a sample. The most awful and sensational crimes against human life have, as a rule, been instigated by other feelings than that of intoxication. Neither of our three martyred presidents was slain by a drunkard; nor have the most sensational crimes against life been induced by drunkenness. Jealousy is more of a menace to life and causes more murders and more mischief than does intemperance. Would you try to cure jealousy by law? You could no more do so than you can promote Temperance by Prohibition.

It is difficult to conjecture where the reason of Prohibitionists is when, in view of the numerous crimes against women and against property, that one thing alone, and that not the chief, is singled out as the cause of all human misfortune. The truth is the charge is not true.

The question of insanity is subject to the same consideration. Unquestionably drunkenness may lead to insanity. So do some other excesses. The most reliable statistics of insanity give as the causes: First, self-pollution and sexual excess; second, religious fanaticism or excessive zeal. And intemperance is given as the third cause. If the logic of Prohibition is to prevail it would be right to unsex mankind, and also to forbid altogether those religious bodies whose practices or teachings lead to insanity. This alone shows the fatuity of unscientific reasoning on a profound and intricate social problem.

Let us glance at the problem of poverty—

Says a professor of an American university in a pamphlet against Prohibition:

What causes it? Are total abstainers, other things being equal, richer than those who are not? (I am not here referring to drunkards. That question comes under another consideration.) It is well attested, beyond the possibility of any dispute, that poverty, whenever it becomes a general social condition, is not in any sense attributable to the use of beer and wine. And any man whose opinion has any value as a student of social economy

knows that the causes, not cause, of poverty are complex, are far beyond the reach of the human will, and defy any and every attempt at removal by any act of legislators.

What is the cause of human misery? What is the verdict of history and experience? Primarily the lack of intelligence, the lack of moral energy, the lack of thrift and prudence; and further, and not least, long-established customs and modes of living that defy reason and morals.

It is illogical and unjust to single out instances of want, of crime, and of ordinary wrongdoing and ascribe them to intemperance when human life for ages past bears testimony to other things more productive of suffering. What shall we say about religious fanaticism, which like a scourge has cursed nations and communities and families? No nation has been exempt from this awful evil. But what is the remedy? Legislation? Force? Only so far as to keep the right of the individual inviolate. The panacea for narrowmindedness, for religious intolerance, is education.

Whenever a government has undertaken to rectify religious errors by force of law it has become the abettor of persecution, the friend of hypocrites, the ally of tyranny.

Is it the duty of the Government to deprive every man of his personal freedom because there are instances where men abuse their freedom? Are there no other forces at work for sobriety except Prohibition? Is the American home without power and influence for good? Is education powerless in forming habits of temperance and sobriety? Is the influence of woman for good waning? Must the civil power stigmatize as a crime what is not a crime?

Let our self-styled reformers answer these questions if they can.

Let me show you how fallacious their reasoning is. Indeed, it is both fallacious and superficial. Their whole case is based upon the assumption that by withholding the supply you can stop the demand; while, as a matter of fact, the supply of beverages—and of everything else, for that matter—is the effect and not the cause of the demand. If by confounding cause and effect you proceed from false premises it is quite natural that you will arrive at false conclusions. Suppose there were as many taverns in a city as there are houses, and, on the other hand, all the people were educated to be total abstainers, what would happen? Every tavern keeper would be starved to death. But, again, if you succeed in closing all the saloons, would this kill the appetite for drink? Not at all. The people would either find a way to manufacture it themselves or they would resort to substitutes worse than liquor—to drugs such as opium, morphine, and cocaine. Of this we have ample proofs, one of them being that the consumption of cocaine is relatively largest in Prohibition states. Another is the testimony of responsible

army officers before the military committee of this House to the effect that soldier boys stationed in Maine and Kansas have been discovered to receive supplies of cocaine from drug stores of the larger cities. And the use of this poison, mind you, is followed by direct attacks upon the brain cells. Furthermore, if people were compelled to concoct their own drinks the vilest kind of rot-gut would take the place of the pure and well-matured beverages which are now consumed. And have you ever considered that the process of home manufacture would be confined almost altogether to the strong spirituous drinks, because these alone can be made by primitive means?

I have always believed that true temperance could be best promoted by the gradual substitution of the milder and harmless beverages for the strong, but if Prohibition, as we see, will have the very opposite effect, can you still claim it as a Temperance agency? It is certainly plain from what I have said that you cannot cure the drink habit by attacking the supply. By legal edict you can destroy all the distilleries and all the breweries and all the saloons, but you cannot destroy or even control the human appetite by such means. The only successful way to serve the cause of true temperance will be to attack the demand, and this can only be done by moral suasion. Therefore, I make bold to say that if all the good men and women who are interested in this cause would use their combined influence to train the youth of the land in the art of self-control and moderation instead of invoking the power of the law and the police club, their efforts would show much more substantial results.

Mr. Speaker, I favor Temperance and sobriety as strongly as any of the self-constituted leaders of that movement, but I believe neither in reforms so extreme as to be repugnant to human nature and therefore impossible of attainment, nor in methods the futility of which has been demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt. Every civilized country has its honest Temperance movement, with moral influences as its weapon to lessen the evil of intemperance. Nowhere, however, would anyone dream of resorting to the law as a means of controlling the tastes and correcting the innocent habits of the people. In the United States alone, as far as we know, such an impossible remedy is seriously attempted. Here alone the Temperance movement has degenerated into a crusade of extirpation and indiscriminate destruction. Because out of a hundred retail stores

there may be objections to one we are asked to close them all. Because among a hundred citizens there may be one drunkard we are peremptorily told to deprive them all of their personal liberty. No distinction whatever is made between innocent social pleasures and boisterous excesses, or between the sum total of contentment which is produced by the social gatherings of hard-working toilers in which are called the poor man's clubs and the disgraceful revelries of drunkards—all are condemned alike. One man may indulge moderately for sociability's sake and to enjoy the company of his friends, another may seek solace from distress and misery, but the happiness of the one and the comfort of the other are brusquely swept aside and all causes which might press the cup into a man's hand are contemptuously ignored. While admitting, Mr. Speaker, that the inclination to be his brother's keeper is always strong in man's breast, yet it is cause for wonder that such an extremist program should ever have found favor with any respectable number of free-born American citizens. Excess is objectionable and unhealthy in all things, but a failure to discriminate between excess and moderation in matters and habits which are not wrong in themselves will in the long run doom the radicals and extremists to certain defeat.

Permit me now to give the House ten reasons why, in my judgment, Prohibition is wrong. Many more might be cited, but I have formulated the following as the principal ones, to wit:

First.—Prohibition is a deathblow to the liberty of the individual because it prohibits what is not wrong in itself. No despot in history has ever dared to prohibit what is morally right, and the attempt to do so would have cost him his head. The exercise of rights which concern persons individually, and whose exercise does not injure the neighbor, is a basic condition of freedom which Prohibition violates. The right to eat and drink what we please is an inalienable human right of which even a majority cannot deprive us without at the same time robbing us of our liberty. But let us go to the bottom of this matter. It has ever been the aim of the friends of liberty to wrest the scepter of government from the hands of individual rulers and place it in the hands of the people. Since this has been achieved in America the problem of liberty was believed to have been solved for all time, for no one dreamed that the nation would ever need protection against its own will or would

ever tyrannize over itself. The Prohibition movement teaches us, however, that such tyranny after all is possible under self-government by the majority misusing its political liberty or its right to govern for the purpose of restricting personal liberty. In other words, we are dealing in this case with what John Stuart Mill called "the tyranny of the majority," an evil against which the nation must protect itself if it desires to remain free; for individual liberty, the right of personal conduct, is an inalienable human right which should never be taken away either by majorities or by law or constitution. From this we can see how much larger than the mere drink problem this question really is, for if it were right in one respect to take away from the individual the privilege of self-control it would be right in all other respects, and the final outcome could be nothing less than a condition of complete slavery.

Our opponents say, "we do not propose to prohibit drinking, but merely the manufacture and sale of beverages," but remember that this hypocritical and insidious subterfuge is the very means by which despots always robbed the people of their liberties. In accordance with recognized principles of law an attempt to accomplish by indirection what you cannot do directly is dishonest and, consequently, immoral. Hence our great moralists appear to stand convicted of an immoral trick. It is true that in spite of all that they have achieved great successes. County after county and state after state have fallen into their hands. Yet I have not lost faith in the sound common sense of the American people. These successes are solely due, as I said before, to the unparalleled forbearance and indifference of the people and not to their actual approval. The fact is that the question is not yet generally understood. Once let the people fully comprehend the menace to liberty which is involved in this question and they will make short work, I believe, of the sappers and miners who are dynamiting the foundations of our government.

In this connection let me again quote John Stuart Mill. Speaking of individual liberties he says:

No society in which these liberties are not on the whole respected is free, whatever may be its form of government; and none is completely free in which they do not exist, absolute and unqualified. The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether

bodily, mental, or spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.

Second.—Prohibition runs counter to human nature because the taste and appetite of man cannot be regulated by law. Human laws are powerless against the laws of nature. Pass an enactment abolishing the law of gravity, then jump out of a ten-story window and see what will happen. You will be picked up in a shovel. But, say our opponents, we should at least remove the temptation which the saloon puts in our way. This is the silliest proposition of all, for if we endeavored to remove everything which might tempt man we would have to abolish gold and money, eatables and drinkables, and finally even woman, for all of these might become a source of temptation to man. And when we would be finally through abolishing all causes of temptation there would be nothing left but desert sands to cry to heaven bewailing the idiocy of man. Why, the Creator himself has placed temptation in paradise in the shape of the fatal apple tree, but evidently, according to the logic of our Prohibition friends, He has made a serious mistake in doing it, and if Eve had been a Carry Nation no doubt she would have chopped down that apple tree with her little hatchet. No, gentlemen, we cannot remove temptation, but we can and should, by discipline and training, strengthen our power of resistance against it.

Third.—Prohibition undermines manliness. Its premise is that men are children, who must be led in the leading strings of law. Our conception, however, is that a man should voluntarily do the right and avoid the wrong, and that an interference with his self-control in personal matters is slavery pure and simple. If a man is honest simply because he has had no opportunity to steal, we do not take much stock in his honesty. If a man remains sober because he has never had an opportunity to indulge, we do not think much of his sobriety. But we do rightly give credit to a man who remains honest in spite of opportunities to steal, and we do believe in a man who is sober in spite of all chances to drink. That is the kind of manly citizenship I believe in rearing; it is the philosophy to which I subscribe.

Fourth.—Prohibition undermines respect for law. A thousand ways will be found to evade the law, and the result will

be a nation of lawbreakers, a condition which must inevitably lead to lawlessness and anarchy. If the 82 per cent of our population who are moderate drinkers will satisfy their wants in spite of the law, then every thief will find justification in stealing, every burglar in robbery, and all other criminals in their evil deeds, and many will be encouraged to break the law who otherwise would have remained law-abiding citizens. May Heaven protect us against such a state of affairs!

Fifth.—National Prohibition by constitutional amendment is unworthy of a great people. A constitution should be a bill of rights for the protection of life, liberty and property, and especially for the protection of the minority. By incorporating in it mere police regulations our national constitution, of which Gladstone said that it is "the greatest charter of liberty ever struck off by the mind of man," will be perverted, defaced, and desecrated.

Sixth.—National Prohibition means the complete subversion of the fundamental theories upon which our system of government rests. By the wise foresight of the fathers of the republic the police power was reserved to the separate states upon which the exclusive right to pass sumptuary laws was thus conferred. This sacred theory would be torn into shreds by conferring police powers on the national government. I say "sacred theory" because all state rights men up to this time have tenaciously adhered to it. A thing such as federal police power could not be reconciled with it.

Seventh.—Prohibition means the confiscation of property valued at a thousand million dollars, property which has been acquired strictly in accordance with state and federal law. Even if all the arguments of the Prohibitionists were true, it is inconceivable that a nation, whose sense of fair play is proverbial, could seriously permit the wanton destruction of such gigantic values. Do not forget that the bonds of the United States are based upon the wealth of the country, and that by the destruction of such values the security of the bonds must necessarily be impaired and their market value depreciated. I go so far as to assert that the so-called Anti-Saloon League, by its crusade for the destruction of a legitimate business, is violating the Sherman anti-trust law, and should be called to account by the Attorney-General of the United States. When a few years ago Switzerland prohibited the manufacture and sale

of absinthe a commission was created to assess the damage, and this commission has paid indemnities to those who sustained losses on account of the new law, even to the laboring men employed in that industry. Here is an example which our modern crusaders should study. I do not say that compensation would in any way excuse or justify Prohibition, but it is the very least which could fairly be expected, and it is the only honorable way to go about it. As regards the financial consequences of Prohibition, a disastrous flood or an earthquake would be mere child's play compared with the destruction to be wrought by it.

Eighth.—Prohibition will take the bread from the mouths of hundreds of thousands of employees and workingmen, not only of those employed in the breweries and distilleries, but of coopers, blacksmiths, glass blowers, wagon builders, bricklayers, carpenters, and so forth. Indeed, there will not be a single trade which would escape the calamity. To those should be added all the small dealers and business men who are now patronized by these laboring men, and the damage will be felt even by banks, wholesalers, railroads, and farmers, especially those of our farmers who grow barley and hops. The inevitable result would be an economic panic unparalleled in our history, a panic dealing a terrific blow to the whole nation and the devastations of which would equal those of a civil war. And what do the uplifters offer to the men deprived of their employment and to the country as a substitute? Nothing! "After us, the flood!"

Ninth.—Prohibition will cause a deficit in the national treasury of at least \$280,000,000 a year, for this is the amount which the government now collects from beer, wine, and spirituous liquors, and which, by the way, far exceeds our total expenses for army and navy. It is a tax which every consumer, as Garfield said as far back as 1880, pays voluntarily, because no one need pay it who does not wish to. It is, in other words, the voluntary contribution which the moderate drinkers of the country make to the national household. How, I ask, should this deficit be covered? It must be by direct taxes, of course; but we have just imposed a new corporation tax, a new income tax, and a war-revenue tax. Do you propose to pile an additional quarter of a billion on top of those? No political party would ever survive the attempt.

Tenth.—Prohibition does not prohibit, and for this assertion I beg to submit incontrovertible proof.

If the patent medicine of the moral uplifters were effectual, the consumption of whisky should have been reduced by at least 50 per cent, because half of the territory of the Union has been voted dry. But what are the figures? The truth is that the consumption has doubled; in fact, has increased much more rapidly than the population. Again, the greatest percentage of drunkenness is recorded in the Prohibition states, because the number of arrests for drunkenness was five to nine times greater in those states than, for instance, in liberal Wisconsin. This proves conclusively that you can vote a town dry, but you cannot vote a man dry. Or what was it that our farmer friend said? "Yes," he said; "I, too, voted for this movement against alcohol, for as long as we have beer and wine and whisky, what do we want with alcohol?" Many a one might have thought so who, suffering no want himself, voted to close the saloons of his neighborhood. But national Prohibition will open the eyes of the people who have been thus misled and fooled. That the above figures demonstrate the complete moral bankruptcy of the cause of Prohibition, it is, I believe, unnecessary to point out further to those who are listening to me.

Most of what I have said relates to the general subject of Prohibition. Now, permit me briefly to discuss the concrete proposition before us—the concurrent resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution providing for national Prohibition. After a careful analysis I have come to the conclusion that this is a misnomer. It should be called "a constitutional amendment providing for free whisky," or "a measure to promote home drunkenness." Surely no one can study its effect without having his suspicions aroused, as well as his doubts, as to the sincerity of its proponents. Are they, we are justified in asking ourselves, really sincere in the advocacy of temperance or is it merely a maneuver, a sort of rallying cry for the unthinking or a signal from the leaders to show the country how high they have already dared to climb with their peculiar nostrum for the ills of mankind?

I must confess, Mr. Speaker, that to me it looks as if the leaders, after they had carried Prohibition to the doors of Congress, had suddenly lost courage as a result, perhaps, of the tremendous weight of their burden and had mixed their offering

of pure and adulterated water with a goodly alcoholic flavor to make it palatable. Let us see. The amendment reads as follows:

The sale, manufacture for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States or territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are forever prohibited.

Why the repetition of the words "for sale"? Why such cumbersome form of expression? Why, if the amendment was designed to kill the liquor traffic, was it not put in this simple form: "The manufacture, sale, transportation, exportation, and importation, and so forth, are forever prohibited"? In answer to these questions let me quote the words of a good Prohibitionist, a Mr. William A. Brubaker, of Detroit, Mich., who writes to the National Issue, a Prohibition paper, as follows:

Anyone who understands the English language can readily see that the Hobson amendment would not prohibit the manufacture of liquor for personal use. Nor its importation for personal use. Hobson admitted in his speech in this city—Detroit—recently that his amendment was not intended to prohibit the manufacture or the importation of liquors intended for personal use.

It will be readily seen that this will open the door to all sorts of evasion and frauds and will make the enforcement of the law exceedingly difficult. If I may manufacture liquor for my own use, several of us may join in such manufacture. A hundred, a thousand, any number of men, may join in such an enterprise. Suppose I own a brewery capitalized at \$300,000. When the Hobson amendment is ratified, I at once advertise the sale of 200,000 shares of stock at \$1 each, with the inducement that beer will be furnished to stockholders at cost. The entire amount is quickly subscribed and I pocket \$200,000 by the transaction. When the amendment goes into effect "our" brewery is furnishing its product only to its owners, at cost—of course, the cost is heavily padded by enormous salaries to the managers—not a pint of it is "for sale." Our product is shipped to its "owners" in all parts of the country, because, as you notice, there is no prohibition against its transportation in the amendment. A "cooperative brewery" could be set up in every town of any size in America, unless prohibited by state law. Clubs would be organized as they are now in local option territory, for the importation of liquors not "for sale," of course, but for the personal use of the members. Beer from Bavaria, champagne from France, whisky from Scotland. The question is, Do the temperance people of America care to spend money and effort for the adoption of such an amendment? Would its enactment better present conditions a particle?

My answer to this last question is, decidedly, no. Not only would it not better present conditions, but it would make them infinitely worse. It would strike down the legitimate business, deprive the treasury of a revenue of \$300,000,000, which would

have to be made up by direct taxation, remove all the safeguards which state laws have thrown around the liquor traffic; would rob the thirty-five states of the Union which still legalize that traffic and their great and small municipalities of all their income from that source; would turn every house into a private distillery, replacing the milder beverages, such as beer and wine, wherever they are now preferred, by strong and impure spirits; and, in a word, would make whisky as free and almost as cheap as water everywhere in the country. In the face of these facts, how any man who has the cause of Temperance at heart could vote for such a proposition is more than I can comprehend. Under these circumstances America would be the paradise of the drinker, as well as the drunkard; but what of that? Have not the crusaders the satisfaction of striking down a legitimate industry, of destroying values amounting to \$1,000,000,000, without compensation and of throwing 1,000,000 men out of employment, and at the same time depriving them and their families of their daily bread? They started out to ruin the liquor traffic as a business, and this the amendment will accomplish. Alongside of that everything else, including the real issue, namely, Temperance, is evidently a matter of secondary consideration.

I trust, let me say in conclusion, that the vote on this proposition will not be regarded as merely a referendum. It is not; and when our friends the Prohibitionists say that Congress, in permitting the people to decide the question, would not have to pass on its merits they are telling us what is not true. In the first place, the people at large will have no chance to vote on the question at all, because the legislatures will decide it, and this fact alone puts a tremendous responsibility on our shoulders, and for this reason: To be ratified the amendment requires the votes of the legislatures of thirty-six states. But the thirty-six states which the crusaders are counting upon to vote affirmatively do not comprise a majority of the people, so that the twelve big states with a real majority would actually be dictated to by a minority, and in a matter which the great liberal states regard as vital. These states are Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California. They have more representatives in Congress than the thirty-six smaller states, cast 9,000,000 out of the 15,000,000 vote for President in 1912, have a larger school attendance, less illiteracy, more church

communicants, own two-thirds of the church property of the country, have two-thirds of the wage-workers, produce four-fifths of all the manufactured products, pay two-thirds of all the internal revenue, three-fourths of the corporation tax, and five-sixths of the income tax, and have four-fifths of all savings bank deposits. According to the census of 1910 these 12 states, by the way, had only 115 state prisoners per 100,000 population, while the 9 Prohibition states had 124. The number of prisoners for grave homicide on January 1, 1910, was, in the 9 Prohibition states, 1,846; in the 12 license states only 1,664.

To come back to my argument, these figures show conclusively that the only protection which we have in this instance against minority rule must be afforded by Congress. Moreover, the founders of the republic clearly intended Congress to exercise its mature judgment in the matter of amending the constitution or else they would not have provided for a two-thirds majority to be required for the passage of an amendment; and is it not also true that the House, being particularly charged with the initiative as to all revenue bills, must carefully exercise its judgment regarding all measures affecting the revenue? And is it possible that we could shirk that responsibility regarding a proposition which threatens to bankrupt the treasury?

In a telegram recently sent out from Washington it was stated that "the responsible leadership of the House does not regard Prohibition as a national issue." Permit me to say, Mr. Speaker, that the destruction of lawful property by the mere expression of opinion without a day in court—"due process of law"—and without just compensation for all losses, can never be a legitimate issue in either state or nation, however an insistent corporation may urge such piracy under the form of law, and however some courts may permit it by substituting the "police power" for the bill of rights. Congress is an independent body and should never assent to control which would swerve it one iota from the great principles upon which our government was founded.

Bismarck Daily Tribune. August 7, 1909

Other Side of the Prohibition Question

The Fargo Forum speaks of "the appalling condition uncovered in the case of a Casselton barber who sold beer and whisky to boys from fifteen to eighteen years of age." There is nothing particularly appalling about this circumstance; it is an ordinary condition under a Prohibition law that does everything but prohibit.

How long, we wonder, will the God-loving, home-loving, honest law abiding citizen of North Dakota sit idle and allow this damnable farce of so-called "Prohibition" to slide along, carrying with it a premium on criminality and a curse to manhood? Better far re-submission and the open grog shop than the North Dakota blind pig. You ask why? Well, have a care dear reader, if you be one of those individuals who believe that the world can be forced on to a cold water diet; if you be one of those who believe that the Prohibition law in North Dakota is anything but a curse; if you be one of those who sit idly by and dream of no nectar so sweet as that which drips from the slimy brim of "the moss covered bucket that hangs in the well," while your neighbor sits by, equally idle, sipping 3 cents worth of barley brew from a bottle for which he has just parted with 35 cents; we repeat, have a care, and read no farther, lest that which is written here in truth should wreck your faith in mankind and knock the logic out of your boasted Prohibition.

There is hardly a city, village or hamlet in the entire North Dakota empire, where beer and whisky cannot be purchased today. And the average man who sells intoxicating liquor in North Dakota will sell it to boys under age, to women, to habitual drunkards, to dope-fiends, to any and everybody who has the price. Why? Simply because the crime of selling beer or whisky is of itself a greater crime than selling to minors or anyone else. When a man goes into the liquor business in North Dakota, he knows that he is at once a criminal by the very nature of his business, and why should he hesitate to sell to a minor?

Prohibition is a wonderful thing, but it does not prohibit. The object of Prohibition is to defeat the demon rum, save weak men, protect the home and lessen the number of criminals.

But it does just the opposite—at least in North Dakota. It makes criminals of more men, damns more young boys and wrecks more homes than does any other one thing; it sends more men to the penitentiary and makes more criminals than does any vice or hereditary weakness to which man is heir. Here in North Dakota a man secures possession of a dirty shack in a remote corner of the town, the rear corner of a basement, or any out-of-the-way place; he goes to one of the local representatives of a brewery, who by the way, has a carload or two of beer in cold-storage, and he orders a case or two cases of beer; if he can't get it from the cold storage representative, he goes to the depot and gets it. His cash outlay is probably \$6 or \$7, sometimes much less. He then opens what is commonly known as a blind pig and he is a full-fledged liquor dealer. He knows that he is a law-breaker and consequently he is not particular who he sells his liquor to. Cross the line into Minnesota and note the difference. A liquor dealer in a high license state must first invest hundreds of dollars before he can engage in business. He pays a license generally around the thousand-dollar mark. There are laws governing his place of business which must be observed or the revocation of his license is the penalty. He cannot sell after 11 o'clock at night or on Sunday. Minors are not allowed to even enter the place. Topers and habitual drunkards are placed on the "black-list" and they cannot secure liquor. In North Dakota the blind pigger generally has nothing invested; he sells more after 11 o'clock at night than at any other time; he sells just as much on Sunday as the people will buy; he sells to minors, women, drunkards, and everyone who has the price. There are no laws governing the operation of his business except the one which says he shall not, and to offset this the government sells him a license to do the very thing which he does.

And every citizen of North Dakota who buys a bottle of beer pays a cash premium or reward as an inducement to a man to become a criminal. The world-over a quart bottle of beer sells for 25 cents—except in North Dakota. Here we pay 10 cents a bottle extra as an inducement to a man to become a criminal. He knows that if he can evade the officers of the law, or if he is able to "fix" things, or if he happens to be a particular pet with a pull, he can make more money in the blind pig business than in any legitimate line. There are countless inducements to blind piggers. Nine out of ten men

who sell beer in North Dakota and by the very act become criminals, could not engage in the sale of liquor in a high-license state simply for lack of capital. And the man who does operate a saloon in a high-license state generally obeys the law, his investment being so great that he cannot afford to take chances. And it has been demonstrated that the sale of liquor can be controlled under high-license, while North Dakota has proved that it cannot be controlled in any other way. The saloon keeper and blind pigger are both undesirable citizens, but of the two, the former is a gentleman, and not a criminal.

But there is still another man, created through the Prohibition law of North Dakota, who is the paramount criminal of them all. He is the man who receives the \$2 per barrel or the 75 cents per case as a premium on the beer sold on his premises; he is the individual who rents his place of business for an exorbitant price to the fool of a fellow who is willing to run his neck into a noose of the law, and pay his landlord a commission on every dollar's worth of illegal business done. He is the individual who clothes himself with respectability, gains prominence in the community in which he lives, builds up wealth on the unlawful business of a "tool" who takes all the chances, and when his "tool" is caught the fellow who should answer for the crime never gets any further than to occasionally sign a bond in the insignificant sum of perhaps \$500 and the "tool" skips out, justice is defeated, the bond is forfeited, and the business is again resumed by someone else who is willing to take the chance. This is the inside of the pig business in North Dakota, and it can be found without leaving home.

The Prohibition law is right in principle, but it is wrong in everything else. If the sale of liquor could be prohibited—then indeed give us Prohibition. But North Dakota Prohibition is a farce so far as actual Prohibition is concerned. The Fargo Forum and every other newspaper of influence in the state can spend time and use space in shouting about the "appalling conditions surrounding the sale of liquor to minors," if they so desire, but the Reporter believes if the same time and space were used in showing the fallacy of the Prohibition law under the non-enforcement system in vogue in North Dakota, and the agitation of rigid enforcement or abolition of the present law, then there would be no such "appalling conditions surrounding the sale of liquor to minors" to record.

Congressional Record. 42: 5380-1. April 28, 1908

The Personal Rights and Liberties of Man. Herman P. Goebel

Any legislative act that undertakes to regulate our eating, drinking, or the expenditure of our private funds is sumptuary in its character and affects the personal liberty and rights of the individual. Mill says:

That the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.

The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because in the opinion of others to do so would be wise or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him or reasoning with him or persuading him or entreating him, but not for compelling him or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him must be calculated to produce evil to some one else. The only part of the conduct of anyone for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself his independence is of right absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

Every one—

says Kant—

may seek his own happiness in the way that seems good to himself provided that he infringe not such freedom of others to strive after a similar end as is consistent with the freedom of all according to a possible general law. If my action or my condition generally can coexist with the freedom of every other according to a universal law, anyone does me a wrong who hinders me in the performance of this action or in the maintenance of this condition.

Herbert Spencer writes:

Every man is free to do that which he wills provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man. The liberty of each is limited only by the like liberties of all.

These rights are fundamental, and whenever a free govern-

ment suspends them and thereby seeks to regulate the conduct of the individual it violates a fundamental principle upon which it is founded. An overindulgence of the particular act while in the exercise of this right is at most a "vice." Vices are simply errors which a man may make in his search after his own happiness. It may be an immoral or evil habit, practice, or conduct in which he indulges, resulting from an impure or degrading appetite or passion, but vice is not a crime. It becomes *mala prohibita* when by statute you make it so. Widely differing from other offenses that are crimes *mala in se*, vice is a chronic and habitual transgression of the moral law and is social in its origin, progress, and aggravation.

Every voluntary act of a man's life which affects him is either in accordance with, or in conflict with natural laws of matter and mind upon which his physical, mental, and emotional health and well-being depend. It either gives him happiness or unhappiness. No one else knows or feels or can know or feel as he knows and feels the desire and the necessity, the hope and the fear and impulse of his own nature or the pressure of his own circumstances. It must then be left for each person to settle that question for himself. I am a firm believer in individual freedom. There must be no restraint upon the individual until his act injures other persons. His rights must not be withheld because social good may in an uncertain contingency be harmed.

If Prohibition ever becomes the common basis of social life, it must come through the agency of the individual. To my mind every legislative act enacted to forward it would not hasten, but rather retard it. What statutory law will curb the appetite of man? Appetite is of divine creation. Life is itself chained to it. The aim of man is to live. When you dam a stream, it is not stopped. The current ceases as you look upon it, but while the source remains the stream gathers new force and cuts new channels, made even more dangerous by the dam you have interposed.

As legislators let us get this principle fixed in our minds—that the individual is not accountable to society for his actions in so far as these concern the interests of no person but himself, but whenever his actions are prejudicial to the interests of others, the individual is accountable and may be subjected either to social or to legal punishments when one or other is requisite

to the protection of society. Underlying this principle is liberty of action. The voluntary act or choice of an individual is evidence that what he so chooses is desirable or at least endurable to him, and his good is best provided for by allowing him to take his own means of pursuing it. On the other hand, society has its remedy. If the individual by his conduct displeases us, we can express our distaste and we may stand aloof from him, reflecting that he bears the whole penalty of his error. I admit that the mischief which a person does to himself may sometimes seriously affect those nearly connected with him, and in a minor degree society at large, so that when a man, through intemperance or extravagance, becomes unable to pay his debts, or having undertaken the moral responsibility of a family becomes, from the same cause, incapable of supporting or educating them, he ought to be punished, not for drunkenness or extravagance, but for the breach of duty to his family or creditors.

If the resources which ought to have been devoted to them had been diverted from them for the most prudent investment, the moral culpability would have been the same. Again, is there any reason why our existence shall be constructed on one or some small number of patterns? When a person who possesses a reasonable amount of common sense lays out his mode of existence, should society interfere? It may not be the best mode in itself, but it is his own mode. We are not all alike. Different persons require different conditions for their development. Things which are helpful to one person are hindrance to another. The fact that people have diversities of taste is reason enough for not attempting to shape them all after one model.

In a free government sumptuary laws are in contravention of the rights and liberty of the individual. Whenever by force of law it is sought to rectify "vice," that government becomes the abettor of persecution, the friend of hypocrites, and the ally of tyranny. You must bear in mind that the laws of nature are supreme, and laws enacted by man in opposition thereto would be unnatural and untenable.

The issues involved form the substance of a great reform, and it is not difficult to appeal to a morbid sentimentalism and receive the applause of the multitude. I admire the courage and convictions of such men as Bishop Webb and Bishop Grafton

and the distinguished Cardinal Gibbons, who, on January 8 last, in an interview, published in the Baltimore Sun, said:

I have always been in favor of high license and have made utterances to that effect. In a community as large as Baltimore I do not consider absolute Prohibition practical, for there are so many ways of getting around legislation. But the high liquor license I believe to be the proper solution of the problem.

To begin with, the revenue will be guaranteed by the increased price, despite the fact the number of saloons will be greatly decreased. The high license will do away with the small grog shops, that throw out many temptations for the poorer class of people, and with the number of saloons decreased, the police will be better able to enforce the laws. When the number of saloons is diminished the police will be better able to keep a much closer watch on all of them.

So, with the revenue assured and the advantage placed in the hands of the police, many dangers can be guarded against and many done away with.

But extremists will continue to agitate absolute Prohibition, and they will not be contented until our statute books contain complete sumptuary laws and have taken away effectively every personal liberty of the individual, and then governments will absolutely control and regulate our eating, drinking, and the expenditure of our private funds.

Congressional Record. 52:495-616. December, 22, 1914

National Prohibition. James R. Mann

I am for morality and against immorality. I am for decency and against indecency. I am for Temperance and against drunkenness. I am for virtue and against vice. I am for law and order and against crime and disorder. I am for the right and against the wrong. So are we all. But, notwithstanding my sentiments and our sentiments universally, I am not able to vote for the resolution now pending or for what I suppose will be offered as a substitute for it. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobson] has introduced in this Congress nine distinct, separate Prohibition amendments to the constitution. Just which one of them we will be called upon to vote for I do not know. They all differ, and I venture to say that in now considering this constitutional amendment there is not a member of this House besides the gentleman from Alabama who knows what the differences are in these different Prohibition resolutions offered by him; and I do not believe that he knows. [Laughter.]

The tendency of governments everywhere has always been toward centralization, and whenever that tendency has proceeded until local powers have been transferred from the local governments to the central government history shows that from its own weight the government has broken down and either revolution occurred or dissolution of the country.

What is the proposition now before us? Today alcohol is one of the cheapest and most easily produced products. A man with a book before him can manufacture an alcohol still from which he can produce alcohol at a cost of probably not to exceed 15 to 30 cents a gallon, privately, without publicity, except that the Government of the United States, now levying a very high tax upon the production of alcohol, finds it necessary, in order to protect its revenue, to follow up the producers of alcohol unless they pay the government tax. And the government tax is very high, so that the main cost of alcohol today is the government tax upon it.

As I understand this proposition, it is not intended that the government shall hereafter levy tax upon the production of alcohol or alcoholic beverages. The government's interest in protecting the revenue no longer exists. The national government is no longer directly interested, so far as revenue is concerned, in preventing the cheap production of alcohol. And not only that, this resolution does not prohibit the manufacture of alcohol *ad libitum*. There is not a word in the resolution or the proposed amendment which looks to the prohibition of the manufacture of alcohol, or even of alcoholic beverages, unless they are for sale. We cannot reach the manufacture of alcohol.

Now, how will this amendment be enforced? The government of the United States will either do one of two things. It will either have a government agent spying out the places in every locality in the United States—government spies everywhere—or else the government will not attempt to prohibit the manufacture for sale of alcoholic beverages. It is the tendency everywhere, I know, for the local authorities to endeavor to have the general government enforce a law, make a law upon matters where the local authorities fail, upon the idea, which is not correct, that the government in Washington can better enforce a law in California than the people of California can enforce it. And so long as the government has the incentive through the raising of the revenue the government attempts to enforce the law concerning the manufacture of alcohol. Do

you propose by this amendment to have the government or a government officer or agent or spy, as you may please to call him, in every township in the United States to detect the production of an article which a farmer or a laborer in his cellar can produce without expense and without publicity, and which when produced is still legal under the amendment unless it be made for sale?

I know it is suggested that you can confer the power of enforcement both upon the general government and upon the states. It is impossible as a governmental matter to make each of two sovereigns supreme. You cannot confer upon the general government the power to enforce a law or a constitutional amendment and at the same time confer the same power upon the states without inevitable conflict and disaster. The government would not enforce such an amendment. But you have taken away the governmental control of license. The government now keeps track—or attempts to do so—of every manufacturer of alcoholic liquor, of every blender of alcoholic liquor, of every rectifier of alcoholic liquor, of every wholesale and retail dealer in alcoholic liquors; but when you forbid by this amendment these things the government can no longer keep track of them by license or otherwise. It then becomes a matter of detection or spying. The government of the United States will not be permitted by the people in the different localities in the long run to foster and put upon them thousands of agents or spies to affect them in their immediate locality. And the result will be, if this amendment should be adopted, that liquor will become free, easily made, will sell for 25 or 30 or 40 or 50 cents a gallon with no prohibition on its manufacture, no penalty for its sale, unless you catch the man at it with a government spy, the government itself no longer having any financial interest in detecting the crime. You have practically taken away from the state the power to make and enforce their own laws on the subject. You cannot have government control and state control at the same time.

You say the states cannot control it. If the people of a locality cannot enforce their local laws, it will never be possible for the national government successfully to enforce them. It is proposed, is it, where a man has manufactured alcohol at a cost of 30 cents a gallon in his cellar, legitimately, permitted by the law, and has secretly sold it to somebody else, to have the government agent seize him and carry him a hundred or two

hundred miles to be tried in a federal court instead of being tried in local state courts? Is it the proposition that the enforcement of these ordinary police regulations which must always depend in the main for their enforcement upon the sentiment of the local community shall be brought about by having the offenders dragged into the federal courts for trial?

If that is attempted, it will break down of its own weight. The result will be as it was years ago, before the federal government imposed a high tax upon alcoholic spirits, that whenever a farmer, a laborer, a merchant, or otherwise, desired, he will produce alcohol and give it to his men, like they used to dole out liquor in the harvest fields. It cost nothing to produce it, there was no tax upon it, and no way of preventing it. You have taken away with this resolution the authority of the local governments to protect themselves. You attempt to confer that upon Washington. Well, you will not get Washington unduly excited, or the Government in Washington unduly excited, because some man is illegally selling whisky in Portland, Me., or in Portland, Ore. They do not get too much excited when they sell liquor illegally in the city of Washington.

I understand very well how a wave of excitement goes through and over a country. The bitterest persecutions which have ever been had have been had under the name of religious fervor. People get the impression that they want to accomplish a certain good, as they used to when they proposed to make a man profess a certain religion in order to save his soul, and if he would not save his soul in that way they would destroy his body. Good purposes, laudable desires; but you must test a proposition by its natural results, by the evolution which comes from it; and I declare to you that in my opinion, as a student of government for years, the effort to confer upon the national government the power to control the manufacture of alcoholic liquors for sale and to prohibit them will result in no tax, no license, no control over the production and sale, and will render them cheap and easy to obtain in every part of the United States, with no government properly equipped to prevent it, and that instead of prohibiting you will have made liquor almost free.

I live in a Prohibition district in the city of Chicago, created by an ordinance which I drew years ago, largely enforced by the aid of the good people, its enforcement aided by the saloon keepers on the outskirts. Today the whisky manufacturers aid the government as far as they can in the enforcement of the

